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SOUTHERN

Historical Society Papers.

VOLUME XXIV.

EDITED BY

R. A. BROCK,

SECRETARY OF THE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Southern Historical Society Papers.

Vol. XXIV. Richmond, Va., January-December. 1896.

"The University of North Carolina in the Civil War."

AN ADDRESS

Delivered at the Centennial Celebration of the Opening of the Institution, June 5th, 1895.

By Stephen Beauregard Weeks, Ph. D.

I. General Introduction.

"First at Bethel; last at Appomattox." Such is the laconic inscription on the new monument to the Confederate dead which was recently unveiled in Raleigh. There is an especial appropriateness in the erection of this monument by the people of North Carolina in their organic capacity, for these men died at the command of their State, and it was exceedingly proper that she should thus honor them.

The heroic in history but seldom occurs. It is not often that the life of nations rises above the monotonous level which characterizes the daily routine of duty. When such periods do occur they are usually as a part of some great national uprising like the *levé en masse* in France under the first Napoleon, or the Landsturm in Germany in 1813. Of the American States, none can show a fairer record in this respect than North Carolina. There is little in the Colonial or State history of North Carolina that is discreditable. The key-note to the whole of her Colonial history is unending opposition to unjust and illegal government, by whom or whenever exercised. Before the colony was well in its teens it had expelled one of its governors from office, and a better man, one who was more in sympathy with the people, had taken his place; and before the colony was thirty, another governor, although one of the Lords Proprietors had been impeached, deprived of his office, and expelled the province. It was this fearlessness in what they conceived to be their rights that carried her people through the troublous period of the "Cary Rebellion," so called; enabled them to meet with a firm

hand the brow-beating and the villainies, as well as the flattery, of proprietary and royal governors and put them among the leaders in the movement that culminated in the Revolution.

Then came a time of peace and calm when the people pursued the even tenor of their way, and sought in field and forum to find solution for the problems amid which their lot was cast. This period lasted for about two generations, and during it the University of North Carolina had been founded and was seeking a greater expansion. During the period from the end of the Revolution to the Civil War there are no mountain peaks in her history; the level of uniformity is hardly broken by a single event of importance, and there is little in it to attract the attention of the student of the philosophy of history. But there is a period in the history of North Carolina which stands pre-eminent. There is a time which deserves to be characterized as the HEROIC PEROID of the State. This is the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Let all other parts of our history be forgotten, this period of itself, though it be less than half a generation in all, will place North Carolina among the heroic in history.

During those terrible years we see a renaissance of the ideas which characterized pre-eminently the men of the Colonial period. The men of '61 showed that the spirit of Colonial North Carolina was still abroad in the land, and their watchword became again resistance to what they believed to be unjust government, and with this as a basis they conducted a struggle for success that has few parallels in history. They sought to carry out again the program of their colonial ancestors, even to the impeachment and deposition of their governor.

In the movement which led up to the war North Carolina took the part of a conservative, ambitious for peace. She sought to escape the necessity of war by all the means in her power; but, when the die was cast and war was no longer avoidable, she entered into the struggle with characteristic energy, and prosecuted it to the end, and when the end came, no State accepted the crushing defeat with more steadfast loyalty than North Carolina, or sought with more energy to build up the waste places. Then came what was worse than defeat, "impartial suffrage," which meant disfranchisement of whites and enfranchisement of blacks, then the terrors of reconstruction and negro rule broke over us like the roar of some terrible simoon, bearing in its path further humiliation, accompanied by a corrupt government, increased taxes, and a depreciation of values.

Such was the struggle through which the best men of North Carolina were called to pass in those fateful years between 1860 and 1875. These were the years on which the fate of the future in a large measure depended. Well did the brave men of that generation come to the succor of the foundering ship of State, and nobly did they rescue her from the rule of her motley crew. The best men of North Carolina were engaged in this work, and among them, most frequently as leaders, were many alumni of the University of North Carolina.

II. University Men in Public Life.

Before beginning to trace the career of the alumni of the University of North Carolina in the Civil War, it will be of interest for us to review briefly the influence of that institution on the nation as a whole. Before 1861 the University of North Carolina had furnished one President of the United States, James K. Polk; one Vice President, William R. King; two Presidents of the United States Senate, Willie P. Mangum and William R. King; seven Cabinet officers, John H. Eaton, (War), John Branch (Navy), John Y. Mason (Navy and Attorney General), William A. Graham (Navy), James C. Dobbin (Navy), Jacob Thompson (Interior), and Aaron V. Brown (P. M. G.) She had had two foreign ministers of the first rank, William R. King and John Y. Mason; (both to France), and three of the second rank, Daniel M. Barringer, John H. Eaton and Romulus M. Saunders, (all to Spain). She had furnished three Governors to Florida, John Branch, (Ter.), John H. Eaton, (Ter.), and W. D. Moseley; two to Tennessee, A. O. P. Nicholson and James K. Polk; and one to New Mexico, Abram Rencher. Of United States Senators, she had had Branch, Brown, Graham, Haywood and Mangum of North Carolina; A. O. P. Nicholson of Tennessee; Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, and William R. King of Alabama. Benton served for thirty years in succession; King served twenty-nine years in all, and these two records are still among the first in point of service. The University had furnished forty-one members of the House of Representatives, and included in the number James K. Polk as speaker. She had given two justices to the Supreme Court of North Carolina; two Chancellors to Tennessee; a Chief Justice to Florida; a Chief Justice to Alabama, and five bishops to the Protestant Episcopal church (Davis, Green, C. S. Hawks, Otey, Polk); besides a number of college presidents, professors in colleges and leaders in other walks of life.

III. The Position of the University in North Carolina in 1861.

When we come to study the influence of this University on North Carolina itself, it will be seen that that influence was all powerful. The first alumnus to attain the Governor's chair was William Miller in 1814. Between this date and the deposition of Governor Vance in 1866, no less than fourteen out of twenty governors were University men—Miller, Branch, Burton, Owen, Swain, Spaight, Morehead, Graham, Manly, Winslow, Bragg, Ellis, Clark, and Vance. They filled the chair thirty-eight years out of the fifty-two. The influence of the University was not less paramount in North Carolina at the outbreak of the war in 1861 than it had been in former years. The governor in 1861, John W. Ellis, and his opponent on the Whig ticket in 1860, John Pool, were both alumni. The two Senators in Congress in 1861, Thomas Bragg and Thomas L. Clingman; four of the Representatives in Congress, L. O'B. Branch, Thomas Ruffin, Z. B. Vance, and Warren Winslow, were University men. The speakership of the State Senate, under Warren Winslow, W. W. Avery, Henry T. Clark, Giles Mebane, M. E. Manly, and Tod R. Caldwell, was constantly under the direction of University men between 1854 and 1870. With the exception of a period of fifteen years, this office was continuously in the hands of University men between 1815 and 1870. Thomas Settle was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1858, 1859, and 1863; R. B. Gilliam in 1862; R. S. Donnell in 1864; and with the exception of twenty years they had filled the office continuously since 1812. The members of the Supreme Court of the State, M. E. Manly, W. H. Battle, and R. M. Pearson, were all alumni. Of the judges of the Superior Court in 1861, the University was represented by John L. Bailey, Romulus M. Saunders, James W. Osborne, George Howard, Jr., and Thomas Ruffin, Jr. In the same way four of the solicitors were University men, Elias C. Hines, Thomas Settle, Jr., Robert Strange, and David Coleman, and William A. Jenkins, the Attorney-General (1856–62), made a fifth. All of his predecessors in the office of Attorney-General since 1810 had been University men, except those filling the position for a period of fourteen years. Daniel W. Courts, State Treasurer (1852–63), was another alumnus, and so had been his predecessors since 1837, except for two years. Three of the successful Breckinridge electors in 1860, John W. Moore, A. M. Scales,

and William B. Rodman, were alumni. This list of the public officials will show conclusively that the large majority of the more important positions in the State were filled by the alumni of the University. They were the men who controlled the destinies of the State in 1861.

IV. Union Sentiment in North Carolina in 1861.

North Carolina was the last to enter the Confederacy, and her slowness was due, beyond question, to the paramount influence exercised by the conservative views of the alumni of the University. Willie P. Mangum, who had been the personal friend of the abolition Senator, William H. Seward, when the latter first entered the United States Senate, had said in the Senate long before, when the nullification of South Carolina was the topic of the day: "If I could coin my heart into gold, and it were lawful in the sight of Heaven, I would pray God to give me firmness to do it, to save the Union from the fearful, the dreadful shock which I verily believe impends." His feelings were not changed by time, and in 1860 he said to his nephew who had been taught in the school of Calhoun and Yancey, and now talked loudly of secession, that if he were an emperor the nephew should be hanged for treason. The Union sentiments of Governor Graham, Governor Morehead, of Governor Vance, and General Barringer, were just as pronounced as were those of Judge Mangum. All of the old line Whigs opposed the war, while some of the Democrats, like Bedford Brown, denied the right to secede.

V. Action of North Carolina Assembly, 1860–'61.

With such sentiments as these from her leading men it is hardly a matter of surprise that North Carolina moved slowly in the consideration of this great question. On the other hand, Judge S. J. Person, the leader of the secession forces in North Carolina, was also a University man, and on December 10th, 1860, as Chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations, made a report to the General Assembly, in which it was recommended that a convention be elected on February 7th, 1861, to meet on the 18th, to consider the grave situation. A minority report was signed by three members of the committee, Giles Mebane, Col. David Outlaw, and Nathan Newby, all University men, in which they opposed the calling of a convention, on the ground that it was "premature and unnecessary." The conservatives carried their point and no convention was called.

During the month of January, 1861, various delegations were received from the more southern States which had already seceded. It was the duty of these commissioners to bring North Carolina over, if possible, to the side of the Confederacy. The University found three of her alumni among these commissioners: Isham W. Garrott, from Alabama; Jacob Thompson, from Mississippi, and Samuel Hall, from Georgia. The Assembly of North Carolina had also received an invitation from the State of Alabama to send a delegation to meet similar delegations from other States at Montgomery in February, 1861. The State sent a committee "for the purpose of effecting an honorable and amicable adjustment of all the difficulties which distract the country, upon the basis of the Crittenden resolutions," and the parties chosen were all University men: President D. L. Swain, General M. W. Ransom, and Colonel John L. Bridgers. In the same way three of the five commissioners sent by North Carolina to attend the Peace Congress in Washington in 1861 were University men. They were J. M. Morehead, George Davis, and D. M. Barringer.

Finally, on January 30th, 1861, through the strenuous efforts of Judge S. J. Person, W. W. Avery, and Victor C. Barringer, all again University men, the Assembly of North Carolina passed an act providing for the calling of a convention. The election was on the 28th of February. In Holden's paper, *The Standard*, of the 20th of March, the official figures are given as 467 against a convention.* The same paper estimates that out of 93,000 votes cast at this election, 60,000 were in favor of the Union, and that 20,000 sympathizers with the same side staid from the polls. Of the delegates elected about eighty-three were for the Union, and only about thirty-seven for secession. Some of the counties, like Caswell, voted against the convention, but chose Union delegates; others, like Wake, voted for convention and chose Union delegates. In Raleigh the vote was nearly nine to one in favor of the Union. No convention was therefore called and secession was defeated for the second time in North Carolina.

But all the efforts towards a peaceful solution of the problem were failures; Sumpter was fired on and President Lincoln issued his call for 75,000 troops. The share of North Carolina was two regiments.

* Add to this 194 majority from Davie, which arrived too late to be put into the official returns, and we find a majority of 661 against a convention.

The reply of Governor Ellis to this call for troops, addressed to Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, on the 15th of April, marked him as a man of prompt decision and great force of character. It was to be for four long years the watch word of a great State and was but the chrystalized sentiment of the people of that day: "Your dispatch is received, and if genuine, which its extraordinary character leads me to doubt, I have to say in reply that I regard the levy of troops made by the administration for the purpose of subjugating the States of the South as in violation of the Constitution, and a gross usurpation of power. I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country, and to this war upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina."

VI. The North Carolina Secession Convention.

The next and the inevitable step was the Convention of 1861. It was provided for by act of May 1; the election was held May 13; on the 20th the Convention met; on the same day, North Carolina, after much deliberation, after a long consideration which might have been termed cowardice by more hotheaded neighbors, passed the ordinance of secession. She had been the last of the Southern States to enter the Federal union; she was the last to sever her connection with it. In this convention, as elsewhere, University of North Carolina men were all powerful. The following were her contribution to the Convention of 1861:

Alexander county, A. C. Stewart; Beaufort, R. S. Donnell; Bladen, Thomas D. McDowell; Brunswick, Thomas D. Meares; Caldwell, Edmund W. Jones (?); Camden, Dennis D. Ferebee; Carteret, Charles R. Thomas; Caswell, Bedford Brown; Chatham, J. H. Headen, John Manning, L. J. Merritt; Cumberland, Warren Winslow, Malcolm J. McDuffie (?); Davidson, B. A. Kittrell; Duplin, Joseph T. Rhodes; Edgecombe, William S. Battle, George Howard, Jr.; Forsyth, Rufus L. Patterson; Gaston, Sidney X. Johnston; Guilford, John A. Gilmer, R. P. Dick; Halifax, Richard H. Smith; Henderson, William M. Shipp; Iredell, Anderson Mitchell; Mecklenburg, William Johnston, James W. Osborne; New Hanover, R. H. Cowan, Robert Strange; Northampton, D. A. Barnes; Orange, William A. Graham; Perquimans, Joseph S. Cannon (?); Person, John W. Cunningham; Pitt, Bryan Grimes; Randolph, William J. Long, Alfred

G. Foster; Richmond, Walter F. Leak; Rowan, Burton Craige, Hamilton C. Jones, Richard A. Caldwell; Sampson, Thomas Bunting (?); Stokes, John Hill; Wake, Kemp P. Battle; Washington, William S. Pettigrew; Wayne, George V. Strong.

The Convention had 120 members. Resignations, deaths, and new elections increased this number to about 139. About one-third of these had been students in this University. The secretaryship of the convention was given to one of her sons, Colonel Walter L. Steele, the assistant secretaryship to another, Leonidas C. Edwards, and she had more than her share of the ability of the convention. After we except the names of Judge Badger, Judge Ruffin, Judge Biggs. W. W. Holden, Kenneth Rayner, Governor Reid, E. J. Warren, and a few others, it will be seen that most of the leaders were University men.

When the convention came, on the 18th of June, to choose Senators and Representatives from North Carolina to the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, which met in Richmond, in July 1861, the dominating influence of the University was still more powerfully felt. Four men were nominated for the senatorships: George Davis, W. W. Avery, Bedford Brown and Henry W. Miller. They were all University men. Seven others received votes without a formal nomination; five of these, W. A. Graham, Thomas Bragg, William Eaton, Jr., John M. Morehead, and George Howard, Jr., were University men. Davis and Avery were chosen. For the eight seats in the Confederate House of Representatives, 17 candidates were presented. Eight candidates were University men and four of these were elected: Burton Craige, Thomas D. McDowell, John M. Morehead and Thomas Ruffin, Jr. As Judge Waller R. Staples, of Virginia, was also a member, the University of North Carolina had seven alumni as delegates to this session of the Provisional Congress. When we come to the two Congresses of the Confederate States, we find that the University had two representatives in the Senate, George Davis (1), and William A. Graham (2), while Thomas S. Ashe was chosen for the third which never met. In the House she had David W. Lewis, of Georigia (1); Thomas S. Ashe (1), R. R. Bridgers (1), Thomas C. Fuller (2), John A. Gilmer (2), Thomas D. McDowell (1), and Josiah Turner (2), of North Carolina; and Waller R. Staples, of Virginia.

VII. Alumni in Confederate Executive Service.

Some of her alumni were in the executive service. John Manning was a receiver of the Confederate States. Jacob Thompson was confidential agent to Canada. His object was to open communications with secret organizations of anti-war men in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, to arrange for their organization and arming so that they, when strong enough, might demand a cessation of hostilities on the part of the Federal government. Thompson was of much service also in collecting and forwarding supplies, conducting communications with the outside world, &c. He acquired no little notoriety in connection with the attempted release of Confederate prisioners from Rock Island, Camp Chase and Chicago; suffered the unjust accusation of sending infected clothing into the union lines from Canada, and came perilously near having the distinction conferred upon him of being made the scape goat to bear the infamy of the assassination of Lincoln.

Two sons of the University served as the head of the Confederate Department of Justice. Thomas Bragg was the second and George Davis the fourth Attorney General.

Other alumni served their individual States in various civil ways. The three commissioners of the North Carolina Board of Claims elected in 1861 were all University men, B. F. Moore, S. F. Phillips, and P. H. Winston. When an agent was appointed later in the war to audit the financial dealings of the State with the Confederacy, P. H. Winston, the third member of the Board of Claims, was chosen for that responsible position. George V. Strong became Confederate District Attorney for North Carolina in 1862; Robert B. Gilliam and William M. Shipp became judges of the superior court in North Carolina in 1862 and 1863 respectively. Thomas C. Manning was chairman of the commission appointed by the governor of Louisiana to investigate the outrages committed by Federal troops under Gen. Banks during the invasion of Western Louisiana in 1863 and 1864. Manning and H. M. Polk were members of the Louisiana secession convention of 1861, and John T. Wheat was its secretary. John Bragg was a member of the Alabama, and A. H. Carrigan of the Arkansas convention and Arthur F. Hopkins was sent by the governor of Alabama as special agent to Virginia. Were it possible for us to obtain the complete history of each one of our students in the

more Southern States, it would no doubt be found to be a fact that our alumni, where ever they were, held more than their proportionate share of the places of trust and honor and of the posts of danger.

VIII. University Men in Military Service.

The above summary has given us a survey of the civil service rendered during the war by the alumni of the University of North Carolina. We have noted how completely they dominated the control of the State in 1861. We have seen that the representatives of the University of North Carolina in the Confederate Congress was fair, but not extraordinarily large. We now come to the officers in the field.

The highest military rank held by a University man was that of Lieutenant-General. This was attained by Leonidas Polk under a commission dated Oct. 10, 1862. Gen. Polk was outranked in length of service only by Longstreet and Kirby-Smith. He had been made Major-General on June 25, 1861; he was the second person to attain this rank, and, of the 99 Major Generals in the service, was, with one exception, the only man to attain this position without passing through the preliminary grade of Brigadier.

The University had one other son to attain the rank of Major General, Bryan Grimes, commissioned Feb. 23, 1865.

Of Brigadier Generals she had thirteen.

George Burgwyn Anderson, commissioned, June 9, 1862.
Rufus Barringer, commissioned June 1, 1864.
Lawrence O'Bryan Branch, commissioned, Nov. 16, 1861.
Thomas Lanier Clingman, commissioned May 17, 1862.
Isham W. Garrott, commissioned May 28, 1863.
Richard Caswell Gatlin, commissioned July 8, 1861.
Bryan Grimes, commissioned May 19, 1864.
Robert Daniel Johnston, commissioned Sept. 1, 1863.
William Gaston Lewis, commissioned May 31, 1864.
James Johnston Pettigrew, commissioned Feb. 26, 1862.
Chas. W. Phifer, commissioned spring of 1862.
Matt Whitaker Ransom commissioned June 13, 1863.
Alfred Moore Scales, commissioned June 13, 1863.

Among the staff appointments we find that the third Adjutant and Inspector General, R. C. Gatlin, was a son of this University. He was commissioned August 26, 1863, and in July 1862, had been

made a Major-General of N. C. S. T. The first assistant Adjutant General, was J. F. Hoke (1861); the first Quartermaster General was L. O'B. Branch; the first Commissary General was Col. William Johnston. Matt. W. Ransom was made a Major-General in 1865 and Col. John D. Barry was commissioned a Brigadier-General, with temporary rank, on the third of August, 1864.

In the medical department we find Dr. Peter E. Hines as the Medical Director of North Carolina troops, Dr. E. Burke Haywood as surgeon of the General Hospital at Raleigh, and Joseph H. Baker was the first assistant Surgeon of North Carolina troops, commissioned in 1861. Other alumni rendered similar services to other states; Ashley W. Spaight was Brigadier-General in the service of Texas; Thomas C. Manning was Adjutant-General of Louisana in 1863, with the rank of Brigadier; Jacob Thompson was an Inspector-General.

Should full information ever be obtained it will no doubt appear that there were other cases where alumni of this University served their States in high military capacity, although not forming a part of the regular army of the Confederate States.

When we come to the list of colonels and lieutenant-colonels their number is very large. These were furnished to the Confederacy by North Carolina: seventy-six regiments (besides thirteen battalions and a few other troops, making, perhaps, in all eighty full regiments). Out of the seventy-six regular regiments we find that forty-eight had at one time or another a son of this University in the first or second place of command. The list includes forty-five colonels and twenty-nine lieutenant-colonels. We are to remember also that all of the alumni of the institution did not serve with the North Carolina troops, and we must keep their record also in view. From the best sources obtainable, the catalogues of the Philanthropic and Dialectic Societies, it seems that not less than sixty-three Alumni attained the rank of colonel in the various regiments furnished by the different States to the Confederacy, and that not less than thirty became lieutenant-colonels.

IX. The Alumni in Battle.

Having taken this general survey of the power and influence wielded by University men in public affairs in 1860–'61, and of the higher positions in the army of the Confederate States filled by them,

it now becomes our duty to review the humbler, but no less important positions in the service which were filled by her alumni; to trace the rising spirit of enthusiasm among her students in 1861; to follow their fortunes in the dark and evil days, and then to tell the story of her experience during the closing days of the struggle.

To come then, first of all, to the "spirit of '61." When the war began the boys of the University rushed away to the struggle like men who had been bidden to a marriage feast. There was great vivacity of spirit, even gaiety of temper displayed, and Governor Swain was proud of their enthusiasm. But enthusiasm was not confined to the University. The residents of the village of Chapel Hill were among the earliest to enter the service. They had their representatives at Bethel. A company was organized early in April. Among its officers were R. J. Ashe, as captain; R. B. Saunders and R. Mallett, as second lieutenants, and Thomas G. Skinner, as fourth corporal. It will thus be seen that the company was under the direction of University men. There were other University men among the privates: F. A. Fetter, a tutor, was there to represent the faculty; J. R. Hogan, A. J. McDade, J. H. McDade, Lewis Maverick, Spier Whitaker, Jr., represented the student body and the alumni. There were others not associated with the University, but who have helped to make Chapel Hill and its vicinity honored and respected. Their names will be recognized: J. F. Freeland, Jones Watson, E. W. Atwater, J. W. Atwater, Baxter King, W. N. Mickle, D. McCauley, S. F. Patterson, and W. F. Stroud, at present M. C., from the Fourth North Carolina District. This organization was known as the Orange Light Infantry, and became Company D of the First North Carolina, or Bethel Regiment, so called because of its participation in the battle of Bethel. The regiment had been enlisted for six months, and after its term of service expired, was disbanded. The Orange Light Infantry then broke up, and its members attached themselves to other commands. Four companies were raised in Chapel Hill and vicinity during the war. Governor Swain is responsible for the statement that thirty of these volunteers fell in battle or died in hospitals. Company G, Eleventh North Carolina, was one of those companies that was made up with volunteers from Chapel Hill and the surrounding sections of Orange, with a few from Chatham county.

The following members of this company (G) lost their lives:

KILLED IN BATTLE.

First Lieutanant John H. McDade, July 1, 1863; Second Lieutenant James W. Williams, July 1, 1863; Second Lieutanant N. B. Tenny, July 1, 1863; Corporals W. S. Durham, W. G. Ivey, J. J. Snipes, July 1, 1863, Lueco Ferrell, Oct. 27, 1864; Privates Wesley Andrews, Cornelius Edwards, William Pendergrass, Esau Garrett, July 1, 1863, T. J. Whittaker, Aug. 21, 1864, W. D. Flintoff, Oct. 1, 1864.

DIED OF DISEASE.

Captain J. R. Jennings, of yellow fever, Sept. 10, 1862; Privates H. T. Burgess, George Cole, Carney Haitchcock, Whitfield King, July, 1862; John W. Lloyd, Forest Pearson, Edward Pearson, April, 1862; William Potts, April, 1863; James K. Gaths, of small pox, Feb. 1864; W. B. Cates, William Cates, Feb. 1863; Anderson Turner, May 25, 1863; William Petty, Nov. 26, 1863; Corporal D. J. Norwood, Sept. 1863; Private J. M. Pendergrass, Oct. 1864; Forrest Williams, Nov. 1864; John W. Craig, Feb. 1865; John W. Potts, July, 1865; Edward Reaves, 1864; Ruffin Allen, Oct. 1864; William Jolly, Nov, 1864.

Our University cannot claim all of these as her sons. But their distinguished bravery ranks them among their comrades who had been more fortunate in educational advantages. We know also that a number of residents of Chapel Hill and its vicinity, who belonged to other commands, lost their lives in the service. Their names are as follows:

Maj. John H. Whitaker, Capt. Elijah G. Morrow, Capt. William Stone, Lieutenants Wesley Lewis Battle, Richardson Mallett, William N. Mickle; Sergeant Thomas L. Watson; Privates, Alex. R. Morrow, William Baldwin, Junius C. Battle, Willis Nunn, Henry Roberson; Sergeant-major Edward Jones.

If we credit the above list, whom we know to have been residents of Chapel Hill, and the members of Company G., 11th North Carolina, who lost their lives, to Chapel Hill, it will be seen that this small village and vicinity contributed no less than forty-nine of its sons to the cause of the Confederacy.

Nor was enthusiasm and devotion to the call of duty confined to the village of Chapel Hill or to the students and alumni of the

University of North Carolina. The University faculty was not slower than the student body. Five of them volunteered for the war. The other nine, with one exception, were either clergymen or beyond age. Of the members who volunteered, William J. Martin, the professor of chemistry, was made major of the 11th North Carolina; was promoted lieutenant-colenel and colonel of the same; fought bravely through the war; was wounded at Bristow Station and surrendered at Appomattox. There were for the year 1860–61 five tutors in the University. All of them volunteered. Four of them fell in the service. F. A. Fetter was with the Bethel regiment as we have already seen. He alone of the five survived. The first of these tutors to seal his faith with his blood was Captain George Burgwyn Johnston, who died in Chapel Hill in 1863, of a decline brought on by prison hardships at Sandusky, Ohio. The next was Lieutenant Iowa Michigan Royster, who fell with the song of Dixie on his lips, while leading his company to the charge at Gettysburg. He was one of 8 in the class of 1860 who received first distinction; within four years, four of these filled soldiers' graves. Another of these first honor men, and the youngest, was Captain George Pettigrew Bryan. He was to have entered the ministry; but his country called and he surrendered his young life at Charles City Road, in 1864. His promotion as Lieutenant-Colonel, arrived just after his death. The fourth tutor to fall was Robert W. Anderson who had been a candidate for orders in the Episcopal Church. He was a brother of General George Burgwyn Anderson and like him offered his sword and his life to his State He fell at the Wilderness in 1864.

Such was the contribution of the faculty of the University of North Carolinia to the fighting forces of the Confederacy. It contributed six volunteers; four were slain. We must add to this list the names of several others who had been in former years connected with the University in the capacity of tutors. Of the career of Jacob Thompson we have already spoken. We know also the military record of eight others at least: R. H. Battle, W. R. Wetmore, P. E. Spruill, T. C. Coleman, C. A. Mitchell, J. W. Graham, William Lee Alexander, and E. G. Morrow. Of these three, Spruill, Alexander, and Morrow were slain. The total contributions of the faculty past and present, of the University of North Carolina to the Confederate army was fourteen, of whom seven, or fifty per cent. were killed.

When we come to the records of the alumni themselves we shall find that heroic enthusiasm, which had been shown by the members of the

faculty, the resident students and the villagers, also characterized to the highest degree the conduct of the alumni. The first deaths were not in battle, but from disease contracted in the service. The first victim of disease was probably John H. Fitts, of Warrenton, who died in June, 1861. But with the first great battle of the war, the University received her baptism of blood. At First Manassas she lost at least four of her alumni. And the first student of this University who had attained the rank of a commissioned officer in the Confederate army, and possibly the first of all, officer or private, to fall in battle was, William Preston Mangum. His father, the Hon. Willie P. Mangum, had clung to the Union which he had served so long and so well while there was hope, but when hope failed, he gladly gave the hope of his house to the Confederacy. The son enlisted in the Flat River Guards, afterwards company B, 6th North Carolina, and was made second lieutenant. A few days before the battle of First Manassas, the 6th was ordered to Winchester and from there was rushed forward to reinforce Beauregard at Manassas. They arrived on the field at the crisis of the conflict on the 21st. Col. Fisher, from want of experience, had failed to throw out skirmishers or to form a line of battle, and when the regiment emerged, moving in column from a low scattered wood, Rickett's section of the Sherman battery was seen directly in its front and within seventy-five yards of the head of the column. These guns were then firing on other troops and could not be turned immediately on the 6th. Two or three companies formed into line and delivered a volley which disabled the battery. The companies charged, and the guns were captured. Lieutenant Mangum was seen standing by one of the captured cannon, and while the firing was still fierce, was mortally wounded within an hour of the time he was first under fire. Three others of the students, Adolph Lastrapes and Mitchell S. Prudhomme, of Louisiana, and John H. Stone of Alabama, stand with Lieutenant Mangum at the head of that long list of alumni of this Institution who poured out their blood on the battle-fields from First Manassas to Appomattox.

I shall now give a few statistics of the alumni. Were our University records more complete, we should no doubt find that in some instances the figures which I shall give, would be raised much higher. The record of the 4th North Carolina was very brilliant at Fair Oaks or Seven Pines. It carried 678 men into action, and lost 77 killed and 286 wounded, with six missing, or 54 per cent of the total number

carried into battle. The colonel of the 4th at Fair Oaks, and the acting brigade commander, was George Burgwyn Anderson, who had been a student of this University. He had seen service in the West before the war, and was one of the old officers then in the service of the United States, who offered his sword to his native State. He handled the brigade with such success and skill on this occassion, that it brought him a brigadier's commission within a fortnight. The 4th had other University men among its leaders: Bryan Grimes was its third colonel; Captain John B. Andrews of Company C., David M. Carter of Company E., and Jesse S. Barnes and John W. Dunham of Company F., were all University men and were conspicuous for their bravery, two of them falling in battle.

The University of North Carolina lost five of her sons at Shiloh, fuller records would probably double the number; she lost fourteen at Malvern Hill; nine at Sharpsburg, including Anderson and Branch who had both attained the rank of Brigadier. At Fredericksburg the University lost eight, and five at Chancellorsville.

In the Gettysburg campaign, the highwater mark of the Confederacy, the University lost 21. It is particularly to our credit to know that the regiment which sustained the heaviest loss of any regiment on either side in a single battle during the war, was under the command of a University man. The 26th North Carolina, had Zebulon B. Vance as its first colonel. He served until his election as governor in August, 1862. He was succeeded by Harry King Burgywn, said to have been at the time of his election, the youngest colonel in the Confederate Army, and not yet twenty-one years of age. The regiment was a part of Pettigrew's brigade. It will be more interesting to give its history in the words of Col. William F. Fox, a Federal officer, whose account may be taken as entirely without prejudice. He says in his work, *Regimental Losses in the Civil War*, (pages 555–556):

"At Gettysburg, the 26th North Carolina of Pettigrew's Brigade, Heth's Division, went into action with an effective strength which is stated in the regimental official report, as over 800 men" [820]. "They sustained a loss, according to Surgeon General Guild's report, of 86 killed and 502 wounded; * total, 588. In addition there were about 120 missing, nearly all of whom must have been wounded or killed;

* Under Lee's order of May 14, 1863, this included only those who were pronounced by the surgeons as unfit for duty.

but, as they fell into the enemy's hands, they were not included in the hospital report. This loss occurred mostly in the first day's fight, where the regiment encountered the 151st Pennsylvania* and Cooper's Battery of Rowley's Brigade, Doubleday's Division. The quartermaster of the 26th who made the official report on July 4th, states that there were only 216 left for duty after the fight on the 1st inst. The regiment then participated in Pickett's charge on the third day of the battle, in which it attacked the position held by Smyth's Brigade, Hoyt's Division, Second Corps. On the following day it mustered only 80 men for duty, the missing ones having fallen in the final and unsuccessful charge. In the battle of the first day, Captain Tuttle's company, [F.] went into action with three officers and eighty-four men; all of the officers and eighty-three of the men were killed or wounded. On the same day, and in the same brigade, (Pettigrew's), company C, of the 11th North Carolina lost two officers killed, and 34 out of 38 men, killed or wounded; Captain Bird, of this company, with the four remaining men, participated in the charge on the third of July, and of these the flag-bearer was shot, and the captain brought out the flag himself. This loss of the 26th North Carolina at Gettysburg, was the severest regimental loss during the war." The total loss of the regiment on the first day alone, based on the figures of Col. Fox, was in killed, wounded and missing, eighty-six and three-tenths per cent.† This loss exceeded by four per cent. the loss of the 1st Minnesota at Gettysburg, which amounted to eighty-two per cent. The 141st Pennsylvania comes second, with seventy-five and seven-tenths per cent. In the Franco-Prussian war, the heaviest loss was forty-nine per cent, sustained by the 16th German Infantry (3rd Westphalian) at Mars-la-Tour. In the charge of the Light Brigade, the loss was but thirty-six and seven-tenths per cent. Oh that the 26th North Carolina had a Tennyson to sing of its charge when no one had blundered! But this same brigade of Pettigrew, shattered as it was by the three days fighting, was one of

* This regiment lost 335 men in killed, wounded and missing, on July 1.

† In *killed and wounded* alone, according to Colonel Fox, the 26th North Carolina stands third on the list of great losses, having seventy-one and seven-tenths per cent, against eighty-two and three-tenths per cent of the 1st Texas at Sharpsburg, and seventy-six per cent of the 21st Georgia at Manassas. That few of the "120 missing" from this regiment, on July 1, returned, is indicated by the number reported for duty on the 4th.
out of 820 men, or ninety-seven and five-tenths per cent.

the two to whom was given the post of honor in defending the rear of the army of Northern Virginia on its retreat from Pennsylvania, and it was on this retreat that the gallant Pettigrew was called to surrender his valuable life. Can this University desire more in the line of military distinction, than to have the distinguished honor of claiming Burgwyn and Pettigrew among her sons?

The following figures from Colonel Fox, give the absolute losses of the twenty-seven Confederate regiments that suffered most at Gettysburg:

Regiment	Brigade.	Division.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
26th N. C	Pettigrew's	Heth's	86	502	120	708
42d Miss	Davis'	Heth's	60	205	.....	265
2d Miss.	Davis'	Heth's	49	183	.....	232
11th N. C	Pettigrew's	Heth's	50	159	.....	209
45th N. C	Daniel's	Rodes'	46	173	.....	219
17th Miss	Barksdale's	McLaws'	40	160	.....	200
14th S. C	Gregg's	Pender's	26	220	6	252
11th Miss	Davis'	Heth's	32	170	.....	202
55th N. C	Davis'	Heth's	39	159	.....	198
11th Ga.	G. T. Anderson's	Hood's	32	162	.....	194
38th Va.	Armistead's	Pickett's	23	147	.....	170
6th N. C	Hoke's	Early's	20	131	21	172
13th Miss	Barksdale's	McLaws'	28	137	.....	165
8th Ala	Wilcox's	Anderson's	22	139	.....	161
47th N. C	Pettigrew's	Heth's	21	140	.....	161
3d N. C.	Stewart's	Johnson's	29	127	.....	156
2d N. C. Bat.	Daniel's	Rodes'	29	124	.....	153
2d S. C	Kershaw's	McLaws'	27	125	2	154
52d N. C	Pettigrew's	Heth's	33	114	.....	147
5th N. C	Iverson's	Rodes'	31	112	.....	143
32d N. C	Daniel's	Heth's	26	116	.....	142
43d N. C	Daniel's	Heth's	21	126	.....	147
9th Ga.	G. T. Anderson's	Hood's	28	115	.....	143
1st Md. Bat.	Stewart's	Johnson's	25	119	.....	144
3d Ark.	Robertson's	Hood's	26	116	.....	142
23d N. C	Iverson's	Rodes'	41	93	.....	134
57th Va	Armistead's	Pickett's	35	105	4	144

I must not fail to mention in this connection the record of Company C, 11th North Carolina, which was with Pettigrew at Gettysburg on July 1, and lost a captain and lieutenant, and thirty-four out of thirty-eight men. The company had three separate captains on that terrible day. The first was made major; the second, Thomas Watson Cooper, class of 1860, was killed; the third, Edward R. Out-

law, freshman 1859–60, was promoted from lieutenant. Hoke's North Carolina brigade was not less distinguished for bravery than those already mentioned; with a single Louisiana brigade as support, it charged across the field on the third day, drove back the enemy, captured 100 prisoners and four flags. The brigade was commanded in its charge by Isaac E. Avery, colonel of the 6th North Carolina, who had been a student here 1847–48. He was wounded in the charge, and lived only long enough to write on an envelope crimson with his blood: "Major Tate, tell my father I died with my face to the foe."

Need we be surprised that with such examples of heroism as these, the death-roll of this University in the Gettysburg campaign foots up a score? Gen. James Johnston Pettigrew, Col. Harry King Burgwyn, Col. Isaac Erwin Avery, Lieut.-Col. Maurice Thompson Smith, Maj. Owen Neil Brown, Maj. George McIntosh Clark, Capt. Elijah Graham Morrow, Capt. Nicholas Collin Hughes, Capt. Thomas Watson Cooper, Capt. George Thomas Baskerville, Capt. Joel Clifton Blake, Capt. Thomas Oliver Closs, Capt. Edward Fletcher Satterfield, Capt. Samuel Wiley Gray, Lieut. Wesley Lewis Battle, Lieut. William Henry Gibson, Lieut. John Henderson McDade, Lieut. Richardson Mallett, Lieut. Jesse H. Person, Lieut. Iowa Michigan Royster, Lieut. William Henry Graham Webb.

At Vicksburg the University lost four; at Chickamauga seven; at the Widerness six; at Spotsylvania Courthouse five, including Thomas M. Garrett whose commission as Brigadier-General arrived the day after his death. In the Atlanta campaign she lost nine; including Lieutenant-General Polk. At Bentonsville, the last battle in North Carolina, and the last struggle of Johnston's army, Lt.-Col. John D. Taylor, class of 1853, carried the first North Carolina battalion into battle with 267 men. He lost 152 men, or fifty-seven per cent. Lt.-Col. Taylor lost an arm, and Lieut.-Col. Edward Mallett, who commanded a regiment, lost his life. Capt. John H. D. Fain, the only child of his mother, fell on the last day of the last fight before Petersburg, April 2, 1865; Felix Tankersley was killed within three days of Lee's surrender; and James J. Phillips died from the effects of wounds received after Lee's surrender, but before the news had reached his cavalry commander. From First Manassas to Appomattox, the University saw the life blood of her alumni poured out in lavish profusion. From Gettysburg to Missouri and Texas; on every important battlefield of the war, by death in battle, by death from wounds, by disease and as prisoners of war, did the sons of

this University manifest their devotion to the cause. The University of North Carolina saw its alumni occupying positions in the Confederate army from private to Lieutenant-General, and it made its offerings on the altar of the grim god of war from every rank with the sole exception of major-general, and she was not less liberal with the highest in rank than with the lowest. Of the Confederate officers highest in rank who were slain in battle, one had attained the rank of general; three were lieutenant-generals and here again, the University was called on to give more than her share to the sacrifice, in the person of Leonidas Polk. She lost besides, Lieutenant-General Polk, four Brigadier-Generals, Anderson, Branch, Garrott and Pettigrew, eleven colonels, nine lieutenant-colonels and eight majors.

This University claims further, more than her proportion of the commanders of North Carolina regiments that became distinguished because of their heavy losses in individual battles. There are nine regiments of which we have records of the numbers carried into battle, and the losses sustained in each. Thus the 33rd North Carolina, under the command of C. M. Avery, met with a loss of forty-one and four-tenths per cent at Chancellorsville; the 3d North Carolina lost fifty per cent at Gettysburg; the 4th North Carolina under G. B. Anderson, fifty-four and four-tenths per cent at Seven Pines; the 7th North Carolina, fifty-six and two-tenths per cent at Seven Days: the 18th, under R. H. Cowan, fifty-six and five-tenths per cent at Seven Days; the 1st North Carolina battalion, under John D. Taylor, fifty seven per cent at Bentonsville; the 27th North Carolina, sixty-one and two-tenths per cent at Sharpsburg; the 2nd North Carolina battalion, sixty-three and seven-tenths per cent at Gettysburg; the 26th North Carolina, under H. K. Burgwyn, eighty-six and three-tenths per cent at Gettysburg. It will be seen that four of the nine regiments were under command of University men at the time of meeting their heaviest loss.

The following list of North Carolina regiments suffering heavy losses is extracted from Colonel Fox's book. It is given for general information and for the reason that about one-half of these regiments at the time of sustaining their losses had University men as colonels or lieutenant-colonels [viz: 33, 26, 21, 4, 23, 35, 49 (Major), 18, 48, 13, 6, 49, 57, 48 (Major), 18, 13, 17, 4, 33, 23, 18, 26, 11, 45, 55, 6, 5, 43, 23]:

Regiment.	Battle.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.	Rank in Number Lost.
33d N. C.	Newbern	32	28	144	204	1
26th "	"	5	10	72	87	2
21st "	Front Royal	21	59	..	80	1
4th "	Fair Oaks, May 31–June 1, 62	77	286	6	369	1
23d "	" " "	18	145	6	169	2
48th "	Oak Grove, June 25	18	70	..	88	.
1st "	Mechanicsville	36	105	1	142	2
20th "	Gaines' Mill	70	202	.....	272	....
15th "	Malvern Hill	21	110	....	131	..
25th "	"	22	106	5	133	...
35th "	"	18	91	18	127	..
49th "	"	14	75	16	105	...
7th "	Seven Days	35	218	.....	253	1
18th "	"	45	179	.....	224	2
12th "	"	51	160	1	212	3
28th "	"	19	130	.. ..	149	...
37th "	"	27	111	.....	138	...
15th "	Crampton's Gap, Md	11	48	124	183	...
3d "	Sharpsburg	46	207	.....	253	1
48th "	"	31	186	.....	217	3
27th "	"	31	168	.....	199	4
13th "	"	41	149	.....	190	5
1st "	"	18	142	....	160	..
15th "	"	16	143	.....	159	...
6th "	"	10	115	.....	125	...
49th "	"	16	61	....	77	...
57th "	Fredericksburg	32	192	.....	224	1
48th "	"	17	161	.....	178	2
15th "	"	10	93	.....	103	...
37th "	"	17	76	.. ..	93	...
18th "	"	13	77	.....	90	...
25th "	"	13	75	.....	88	...
7th "	"	5	81	.....	86	...
28th "	"	16	49	.....	65	....
16th "	"	6	48	.....	54	..
37th "	Chancellorsville	34	193	.....	227	1
2d "	"	47	167	.....	214	2
13th "	"	31	178	7	216	3
3d "	"	38	141	17	126	4
22d "	"	30	139	15	184	5
17th "	"	37	127	....	164	6
4th "	"	45	110	58	213	7
33d "	"	32	101	66	199	....
23d "	"	32	113	35	180	....
1st "	"	34	83	27	144	....
18th "	"	30	96	.....	126	....
34th "	"	18	110	20	148	..
14th "	"	15	116	.....	131	....
30th "	"	25	98	1	124	....

Regiment.	Battle.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.	Rank in Numbers Lost.
26th N. C.	Gettysburg	86	502	120	708	1
11th "	"	50	159	.....	209	4
45th "	"	46	173	.....	219	5
55th "	"	39	159	.....	198	....
6th "	"	20	131	21	172	....
47th "	"	21	140	.....	161	....
3d "	"	29	127	.....	156	....
2d " Bat.	"	29	124	.....	153	....
52d " Regt.	"	33	114	.....	147	....
5th "	"	31	112	.....	143	....
32d "	"	26	116	.....	142	....
43d "	"	21	126	.....	147	....
23d "	"	41	93	.....	134	..
51st "	Fort Wagner	16	52	.....	68	....
51st "	Charleston Harbor	17	60	.....	77	1
8th "	"	4	43	.....	47	....
31st "	"	13	32	.....	45	....

It has been ascertained that 312 of the students and graduates of this University lost their lives in the Confederate service. Taking the membership of the Dialectic and Philanthropic societies as representing the total matriculation in the University for any given period, it will be found that there were matriculated in the University in the forty-three years, 1825 to 1867 inclusive,* just 2929 persons. Out of these we know that 190, at least, had died before the war began. This will leave 2739 possible living alumni, (matriculates and graduates), of the Institution. Out of this number, 2729, we know that 312, or 11.39 per cent, lost their lives in the Confederate service.

It will perhaps never be accurately known how many saw service. Of the 2739 matriculates mentioned above as probably alive in 1861, we know that 1078, or 39.35 per cent. of the total enrollment of the University for the forty-three years, 1825–1867, were in the Confederate army.

If we examine the records for the ten years just before the war, we shall find that there were 1331 matriculates between 1851 and 1860 inclusive; that out of these 1331 at least 759 or fifty-six and two-

* This date has been taken because a number of ex-soldiers pursued studies in the University after the war was over.

tenths per cent. saw service in the Confederate States army, and they were in all grades from private to brigadier-general. Of the 759 that we know, 234 were killed. This means that thirty per cent. of those who went into the Confederate service from the University of North Carolina for those ten years, sealed their faith with their blood. This death rate is very near the average of the per cent. of loss sustained by North Carolina troops as a whole, and represents seventeen and five-tenths per cent. of the total enrollment of the University for the ten years. In other words, the proportional loss sustained on the total enrollment of students for these ten years, was just about twice as great as that sustained by the Federal army. The rates of losses of that army, moreover, were greater than were those in the Crimean, or in the Franco-Prussian war. If we reduce this proportion to its proper basis of enlisted men, it will be found that the losses in the Federal army from all causes, death in battle, death from wounds, death by disease and in prison, was eight and six-tenths per cent.* Of the 1078 University men who are known to have served in the Confederate army, we know that 312, or 28.94 per cent lost their lives; more complete records of their service would no doubt reduce this per cent, but it is not probable that the most complete returns of the service of our students would reduce it to less than twenty-five per cent or three times as heavy as the losses sustained by the Federal army.

It will give us a clearer conception of the immense energy displayed by this University, to compare its losses with the losses of some other institutions. The University of Virginia Memorial gives the number of students of that institution who were killed, as 198. Professor Trent estimates that there were perhaps 300 killed in all, and that twenty-five per cent of its students saw service in the C. S. A. The number of students of the Virginia Military Institute reported as killed, was 171. I have found no figures for other Southern institutions. Of northern institutions we find that all contributed more or less of their graduates to the army of the Union. Lafayette College, Pennsylvania, had 226 students who served in that army. Of its regular graduates living, and not beyond the age for military service, twenty-six per cent were in the army. The average of ser-

* See Col. Fox's article in *The Century*, on the chance of being hit in battle. In his larger work, Regimental Losses, he says that the general Confederate loss in *killed and wounded*, was nearly ten per cent, while the Federal loss in killed and wounded, was nearly five per cent.

vice for the New England colleges, was 23 per cent; Yale leads the list with twenty-five per cent. Between 1825 and 1864, 1384 students received the degree of A. B. from the University of North Carolina; of these, we know that 537, or nearly forty per cent., were in the service of the Confederate States.

But this comparison is unjust to the University of North Carolina, for I have mentioned already the enthusiasm with which her students rushed away to battle without finishing their work. There were eighty members of the Freshman class of 1859–60. But a single one (Titus W. Carr), remained to complete his studies and he was rendered unfit for service by feeble health. The class of 1860 had eighty-four members; two of them died in 1860; of the remaining eighty-two, it seems from the best evidence at hand, that eighty entered the Confederate service; of these 80, 23, or 28.75 per cent were killed. There were few graduates the next year. Five members of the faculty had gone as we have already seen. The halls of the University which had presented such a scene of bustling activity a few years before, were now almost deserted. There was danger that the Institution would be compelled to close from the sheer lack of students.

Further, the enforcement of the conscription acts threatened to bring about the same result. The trustees then determined to appeal to President Davis in behalf of the institution and its students. Mr. Davis had said at the beginning of the war, that "the seed corn must not be ground up." At their meeting in Raleigh, October 8, 1863, the trustees resolved, "That the President of the University be authorized to correspond with the President of the Confederate States, asking a suspension of any order or regulation which may have been issued for the conscription of students of the University, untill the end of the present session, and also with a view to a general exemption of young men advanced in liberal studies, until they shall complete their college course.

"That the President of the University open correspondence with the heads of other literary institutions of the Confederacy, proposing the adoption of a general regulation, exempting for a limited time from military service, the members of the *two higher classes* of our colleges, to enable them to attain the degree of Bachelor of Arts."

In accord with these instructions, Gov. Swain addressed the following letter to President Davis:

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, N. C., *October 15, 1863.*

"*To his Excellency,* JEFFERSON DAVIS,
President of the Confederate States.

SIR—The accompaning resolutions, adopted by the trustees of this institution at their regular meeting in Raleigh, on the eighth instant, make it my duty to open a correspondence with you on the subject to which they relate.

A simple statement of the facts, which seem to me to be pertinent, without any attempt to illustrate and enforce them by argument, will, I suppose, sufficiently accomplish the purposes of the trustees.

At the close of the collegiate year 1859–60 (June 7th, 1860), the whole number of students in our catalogue was 430. Of these, 245 were from North Carolina, 29 from Tennessee, 28 from Louisiana, 28 from Mississippi, 26 from Alabama, 24 from South Carolina, 17 from Texas, 14 from Georgia, 5 from Virginia, 4 from Florida, 2 from Arkansas, 2 from Kentucky, 2 from Missouri, 2 from California, 1 from Iowa, 1 from New Mexico, 1 from Ohio. They were distributed in the four classes as follows: Seniors 84, Juniors 102, Sophomores 125, Freshmen 80.

Of the eight young men who received the first distinction in the Senior class, four are in the grave, and a fifth a wounded prisoner. More than a seventh of the aggregate number of graduates are known to have fallen in battle.

The Freshman class of eighty members pressed into service with such impetuosity, that but a single individual remained to graduate at the last commencement [Titus W. Carr]; and he in the intervening time had entered the army, been discharged on account of impaired health, and was permitted by special favor to rejoin his class.

The faculty at that time was composed of fourteen members, no one of whom was liable to conscription. Five of the fourteen were permitted by the trustees to volunteer. One of these has recently returned from a long imprisonment in Ohio, with a ruined constitution, [G. B. Johnston]. A second is a wounded prisoner, now at Baltimore. A third fell at Gettysburg, [I. M. Royster]. The remaining two are in active field service at present.

The nine gentlemen who now constitute the corps of instructors are, with a single exception, clergymen, or laymen beyond the age of conscription. No one of them has a son of the requisite age, who has not entered the service as a volunteer. Five of the eight sons

of members of the faculty are now in active service; one fell mortally wounded at Gettysburg, [W. L. Battle]; another at South Mountain, [J. C. Battle].

The village of Chapel Hill owes its existence to the University, and is of course materially affected by the prosperity or decline of the institution. The young men of the village responded to the call of the country with the same alacrity which characterized the college classes; and fifteen of them—a larger proportion than is exhibited in any other town or village in the State—have already fallen in battle. The departed are more numerous than the survivors; and the melancholy fact is prominent with respect to both the village and the University, that the most promising young men have been the earliest victims.

Without entering into further details, permit me to assure you as the result of extensive and careful observation and inquiry, that I know of no similar institution or community in the Confederacy that has rendered greater services, or endured greater losses and privations, than the University of North Carolina, and the village of Chapel Hill.

The number of students at present here is 63; of whom 55 are from North Carolina, 4 from Virginia, 2 from South Carolina, and 1 from Alabama; 9 Seniors, 13 Juniors, 14 Sophomores, and 27 Freshmen.

A rigid enforcement of the conscription act may take from us nine or ten young men with physical constitutions in general, better suited to the quiet pursuits of literature and science than to military service. They can make no appreciable addition to the army; but their withdrawal may very seriously affect our organization, and in its ultimate effects cause us to close the doors of the oldest University at present accessible to the students of the Confederacy.

It can scarcely be necessary to intimate that with a slender endowment, and a diminution of more than $20,000 in annual receipts for tuition, it is at present very difficult, and may soon be impossible to sustain the institution. The exemption of professors from the operation of the conscript act is a sufficient indication that the annihilation of the best established colleges in the country, was not the purpose of our Congress; and I can but hope, with the eminent gentlemen who have made me their organ on this occasion, that it will never be permitted to produce effects which I am satisfied no one would more deeply deplore than yourself.

I have the honor to be, with the highest consideration, your obedient servant,

D. L. Swain.*

This appeal was not in vain. Orders were issued from the Conscript office to Captain Landis, the district enrolling officer, to grant the exemptions requested. Col. Peter Mallett, the commandant of conscripts, in communicating the information to Governor Swain says: "In performing this duty, Governor, I must express to you the great gratification and interest felt in perusing the report, which will be filed at this office with pride as a North Carolinian, as a relic rather than as a public document."

But this exemption did not relieve all the necessities of the Institution. On the 5th of March, 1864, the trustees instructed Governor Manly their secretary, to forward a second petition, praying for the exemption of the Freshman and Sophomore classes. It is as follows:

Hon. James A. Seddon, Secretary of War.

The trustees of the University of North Carolina at a late meeting adopted the resolution, a copy of which is hereto attached, marked A, to which I beg leave to invite your attention.

By a report made to the Executive Committee of the trustees, Governor Swain, the President of the University—the composition of the four classes are as follows:

There are nine (9) members of the Senior Class; of these, two (2) have joined the army, two have substitutes, two have seen hard service in the army, one is under eighteen years of age and one permanently disabled.

Junior Class, consisting of fifteen members; of these, seven have substitutes, five have been in the army, two are under eighteen years of age, and one, F. R. Bryan, is dead. This class at the close of the Sophomore year numbered thirty, all of whom, except fifteen named above, are supposed to be in the army.

These two classes were heretofore, by your kind favor, granted permission to finish their collegiate course, which the Senior Class will have accomplished by the first Thursday in June next.

Sophomore Class. This class at the end of its Freshman year, numbered twenty-four; of these sixteen are supposed to have entered

*Printed in Mrs. Spencer's Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina, pages 257–260.

the army. Of the nine now remaining, three are exempt from physical disability, and one or more of these three left the class on that account. In a communication by President Swain to Governor Vance he says; "Our Sophomore Class is now reduced to six regular members. Morehead (who has a substitute, an Englishman over conscript age) is the best, and Mickle, the second best scholar in it. The latter has a slender constitution, and is in delicate health."

Freshman Class. Of the twenty-seven members of this class, twenty-four are under age; and one over eighteen years of age, Julius C. Mills of Caswell, who has a substitute. The remaining two are Julius S. Barlow of Edgecombe, born January 5, 1845, and Isaac R. Strayhorn of Orange, born August 7th, 1845.

I have been thus minute in relation to the Sophomore and Freshman Classes, for the reason that on them, the reliance for the continuation of the exercises of the Institution must mainly depend. It will be seen by reference to the numbers of the Sophomore and Freshman classes and their ages, but few, very few soldiers can be added to the army of the Confederacy, whilst the removal of that small number may so reduce the classes as to render it necessary to discontinue the exercises of the Institution, one of the oldest and largest in the Confederacy; and disband the able and venerable corps of instructors, some of whom have devoted their services to the Institution for more than a quarter of a century, and others for nearly a half century. To disband this able body in their declining years, when their accustomed salaries are so necessary to their comfort in the evening of life, would seem to be ingratitude. To continue those salaries without corresponding service, would subject the trustees to merited censure.

And although the limited number instructed might not seem to justify the salaries paid, yet when we consider that this Institution numbered between four and five hundred students at the commencement of this war, by whom every state in the Confederacy was represented, it is most respectfully submitted whether the trustees are not justified, even at the sacrifice of their scanty means, in using all exertion to keep the Institution in its present condition of usefulness, ready to meet the demands of the Confederacy when our independence shall be blessed with peace.

Pardon me sir, for suggesting in behalf of the trustees that your aid in continuing these classes will greatly contribute to the continuance of the Institution, whilst the army, to whose efficiency your first duty is due, will not be materially affected.

Allow me to call to your attention, the letter written you by Governor Swain, on the 15th October, 1863, in which there are some interesting details connected with the University.

By order of the Board of Trustees.

CHAS. MANLY, *Secretary.*

To this request Mr. Seddon replied under date of March 10, 1864: "I cannot see in the grounds presented such peculiar or exceptional circumstances as will justify departure from the rules acted on in many similar instances. Youths under eighteen will be allowed to continue their studies, those over, capable of military service, will best discharge their duty and find their highest training in defending their country in the field."

When this decision became known at the University in the spring of 1864, the nine or ten students who were subject to conscription went into the army, and others went with them to share their fortunes. The catalogue shows but sixty matriculates for the whole scholastic year of 1863–64; the next was little better. The report of attendance, December 29, 1864, is interesting: Senior class, seven; Junior class, two; George Slover and J. T. Smith; first distinction to Smith, second to Slover. Sophomore class, twelve; of these, two absent from examination. Freshman class, nineteen. Even the catalogues are a silent witness of the intensity of the struggle. They are smaller, are on inferior paper, and have that oily look peculiar to Confederate imprints. The difficulties in the way of the faculty were many, but they struggled on. Dr. Charles Phillips rang the college bell with his own hands for the last six months, although there were hardly a dozen boys in the Institution. These, with two or three exceptions, were from the village. When the Federal army appeared, these two or three left the University, and walked to their homes in the neighboring counties, but the exercises went on, morning and evening prayers were attended as usual, even when Federal troops were on the campus.

Under these circumstances, few students had either the opportunity or desire to continue their course unbroken. Many began their studies before the war; a few of these came back, lame and halting, or perhaps with an arm or a leg missing. We find numerous records like these: William Harrison Craig, matriculated 1857, C. S. A., A. B. 1868; or like this, Walter Clark, Adj. C. S, A.. A. B. 1864,

Lieut.-Col. C. S. A.; or like Melvin E. Carter, Capt. C. S. A., matriculated 1867.

The commencement of 1865 was the climax of sorrows. The Senior class on the first of June, consisted of fifteen members, but because of the exigencies of the country only William Curtis Prout was permitted to complete the course. Yet, because they accepted the invitation of the president to perform the usual exercises on commencement day, Edward G. Prout, Henry A. London and John R. D. Shepard were awarded A. B.; Junior class, 0; Sophomore, 5; Freshman class, 2. There was not a single visitor from a distance to attend the commencement of 1865, save some thirty Federal soldiers, who had been detailed to remain and keep order. What a sad contrast was this to the brilliant commencement of 1859, which was graced by the presence of the President of the United States and of his Secretary of the Interior (Jacob Thompson), who was an alumnus of the University, with its graduating class of ninety-two members, the second largest in the history of the institution!

The last year of the war was not only a period of trial for the University, but for the village as well; for, being a University town, its main support then as now, was drawn directly or indirectly, from the University. When it declined, the village suffered in direct proportion. This difficulty was relieved to some extent by the arrival of refugees from other parts. Their coming created a demand for houses and gave some impetus to trade. Many of the young men had gone to the army, as we have seen. At first, whenever a few boys returned on furlough, parties, tableaux, dances, &c., were gotten up in their honor. But this stopped after Gettysburg. The cords of sorrow were being tightened around her. But its community brought all men closer together; charity was more freely distributed, and the pride of station was forgotten. The bands of common sympathy became stronger as the pangs of common sufferings became more intense. The hardness of life was little thought of then; rich and poor fared alike; for all comforts and most necessities went to the soldiers in the field. "When a whole village poured in and around one church building to hear the ministers of every denomination pray the parting prayers and invoke the farewell blessings in unison on the village boys, there was little room for sectarian feeling, Christians of every name drew nearer to each other. People who wept and prayed and rejoiced together as we did for four years, learned to love each other more. The higher and nobler and more

generous impulses of our nature were brought constantly into action, stimulated by the heroic endurance and splendid gallantry of our soldiers."*

The village of Chapel Hill was taken possession of by Federal troops on April 17, 1865. The brigade was under the command of General S. D. Atkins, of Illinois, and was composed of 4,000 Michigan cavalry. He moved his division westward seventeen days later, except a single company, which occupied the college buildings for more than two months. During May General Couch passed through the village at the head of 12,000 men. It is worthy of note that the entire damage sustained by the village and college from the invaders is estimated by Governor Swain not to have exceeded $100. Nor was this occupation without a tinge of romance, for in the midst of these surroundings the daughter of Governor Swain was wooed and won by General Atkins, and Cupid began the work of Reconstruction.

The following summary of statistics of Confederate dead of the University of North Carolina is made up from the list prepared by Colonel William L. Saunders for the four tablets in Memorial Hall (which contain 271 names, and give rank and class), from the additions to the list found in the catalogue of the Dialectic Society (containing 308 names), edited by Dr. William J. Battle; from the additions found in the Register of the Philanthropic Society (containing 272 names), edited by the present writer; from the the "Biographical Sketches of the Confederate dead of the University of North Carolina" (containing 162 names), edited by the present writer and published in the *North Carolina University Magazine*, 1887–91, and from other miscellaneous sources, chiefly correspondence:

TOTAL NUMBER OF CONFEDERATE DEAD, 312.

By place of residence at time of matriculation in the University:

Arkansas,	1	Virginia,	8
California,	1	Florida,	9
Iowa,	1	Mississippi,	11
Missouri,	1	Tennessee,	11
Texas,	4	Louisiana,	14
South Carolina,	5	Alabama,	18
Georgia,	7	North Carolina,	221

* Mrs. C. P. Spencer's correspondence with author and her Last Ninety Days of the War in North Carolina.

By Occupation:

Editors,	2	Teachers,	14
Civil Engineers,	5	Farmers,	27
Preachers,	8	Lawyers,	62
Merchants,	8	No occupation or unknown,	173
Physicians,	13		

By Rank in Service:

Lieutenant-General,	1	Surgeons and assistants,	5
Brigadier-Generals,	4	Aides,	2
Colonels,	12	Captains,	67
Lieutenant-Colonels,	6	Lieutenants,	69
Majors,	17	Corporals and Sergeants,	23
Adjutants,	4	Privates,	100
Sergeant-Majors,	2		

Form of Death.

Died of wounds (including all of those whose wounds proved almost immediately fatal),	55	Died of disease and in prison,	97
		Killed in battle,	160

University Men in the Closing Days of the War.

In the closing days of the struggle, University men, as usual, came to the rescue of their suffering country and sought to lighten the burthen of its sorrows. From the time of the fall of Vicksburg and the defeat at Gettysburg, it became evident to thoughtful men that the main hope of the Confederacy lay in negotiation with the United States. In 1861 Governor Graham had advised that the State of North Carolina hold her destiny in her own hands, instead of surrendering it to others. Time had proved the value of his position, and he was now a leader in the movement that looked toward peace with the United States, but the legal power of ending the war had been put by the Confederate Constitution into the hands of the President. Governor Graham was not among the confidential friends of President Davis, but worked through others, and had in this way a hand in setting on foot the Hampton Roads Conference. He was not a member of this Conference, but was President *pro tem.* of the Confederate Senate during the absence of Mr. Hunter on that mission.

After the failure of the Conference Governor Graham gave notice in the Confederate Senate that he would soon introduce a resolution in favor of opening negotiations with the United States upon the basis of a return to the Union by the States of the Confederacy. But the notice was not favorably received, and the Confederacy went down to its doom. When the crash came he was the same calm, conservative statesman that he had ever been, and was chosen by Governor Vance to accompany Governor Swain as an ambassador of peace to meet the incoming army of General Sherman. They surrendered the city of Raleigh to him and secured from him a promise of protection, which promise was, as a rule, observed. It was also through their efforts on this mission that the University was protected from vandalism. Besides this mission Governor Swain was one of the North Carolinians who was invited to Washington by President Johnson in the spring of 1865, to consult on the ways of restoring the State to the Union. B. F. Moore (A. B., 1820) and Robert P. Dick (A. B., 1843) were also members of this committee.

It must be kept in mind also that the consent of the Federal administration to the Hampton Roads Conference, the last ray of hope of the Confederacy, had been brought about largely through the influence of Francis P. Blair, who had been a student here.* Perhaps no student of this University has had a more remarkable career. He was at first a free soiler; then a Republican. He was the one leader of the unconditional Union men in Missouri, and fused former Democrats and former Republicans into a single strong body of unconditional Union men. The governor of the State and both houses of the assembly were Southern in sentiment, but Blair organized the German companies, which had been known as Wide-awakes in the presidential campaign, into companies of home guards, drilled them, armed them as he found means, and with them began to dominate the State. It was largely due to the influence of the Home Guards that a majority of 80,000 was given for the Union in February, 1861.

* Other alumni cast their fortunes with the Union as follows: Prof. Benj. S. Hedrick differed so radically in his political views from the ruling element, and was so outspoken that public sentiment forced his dismission from the faculty as early as 1856; another member, Rev. Solomon Pool, escaped the same fortune, probably, by being more circumspect in his language; Junius B. Wheeler served as engineer, assistant professor at West Point, and brevet colonel; Edward Jones Mallett was paymaster-general, 1862–65; Willie P. Mangum, Jr., was consul and vice-consul general in China and Japan, 1861–1881.

This vote broke down the strength of the secessionists and virtually turned the State over to Blair and his Home Guards. There were 65,000 stand of arms in the Federal Arsenal in St. Louis. It was the purpose of the State authorities to seize these arms, but the organizations of Blair prevented. Finally Blair rebelled against the power of the State and under his advice the State troops of Missouri were captured on May 10, 1861, without waiting for the necessary orders from Washington. This put an end to Southern supremacy and saved Missouri and Kentucky to the Union. Blair became a Major-General in the Union army and commanded the 17th corps on Sherman's march to the sea.

XI. University Men and Confederate Education.

Such was the position of the alumni of the University in the field and in the legislative and executive branches of the general government of the Confederacy. Their work for Confederate Education was not less noticeable. Archibald D. Murphey was the first man to agitate the question of public schools in North Carolina. Bartlett Yancey drew the bill under which the public schools were organized, and Calvin H. Wiley was the organizer. These were all University men. Wiley succeeded in giving to North Carolina the best public school system that there was in the South before the war. He was Superintendent of Public Instruction in North Carolina during the war, and through his efforts, with the assistance of Governor Vance, the public schools of the State were kept open during the whole of the momentous period. In his report to Governor Vance in 1863 he says: "It is a subject of devout gratitude to one to be able to announce that our common schools still live and are full of glorious promise. Through all this dark night of storm their cheerful radiance has been seen on every hill and in every valley of our dear old State; and while the whole continent reels with the shock of terrible and ruthless war, covering the face of nature with ruin and desolation, there are here scattered through the wilderness hundreds of humming hives where thousands of youthful minds are busily learning those peaceful arts which, under the blessing of God, are to preserve our civilization and to aid in perpetuating the liberty and independence for which this generation is manfully contending." In the same year (1863) fifty counties reported 35,495 pupils, and fifty-four counties received $240,685.38 for schools. It is probable that there were then not less than 50,000 children in the State attending school.

This beneficent system remained vigorous to the end. The public school was maintained in North Carolina throughout the war, except in those sections where the Federals had control, and Sherman's army on its entrance into Raleigh found Dr. Wiley at his desk receiving reports and tabulating statements on the condition of the schools.

The position of Dr. Wiley among Southern educators, generally, was not less distinguished. He was regarded by all as an honored and trusted leader.* Another alumnus, Colonel William Bingham, class of 1856, remained at the head of his private school for boys during the whole of the war period. The school was continued at Oaks, in Orange county, and ten miles from a railroad, until the winter of 1864–65, when it was removed to Mebane, N. C. It was then put under a military organization, it officers were commissioned by the State, and the cadets were exempted from duty until eighteen years of age. The difficulties were great, one of the most serious being the lack of the necessary books. This want was met by the preparation of Bingham's series of English and Latin text-books, which have been republished since the war and are now used in every State of the Union.†

Perhaps the most curious of the educational enterprises of our alumni was the law school for Confederate prisoners, established on Johnson's Island in 1863 and 1864, by Joseph J. Davis (1847–50), who was then a prisoner of war.

XII. Governor Vance and the Part of North Carolina in the War.

But it is not until we come to the actual administration of affairs in North Carolina that we find the most exalted position that was filled by a son of this University, for it was Zebulon B. Vance who earned for himself the distinguishing epithet of "the War Governor of the South." This proud title was well deserved and has been generally recognized throughout the Union. It was earned through the masterful ability displayed by Governor Vance in his administration of the economic resources of the State. It was by his instrumentality largely that the blockade trade, carried on through the

*See *Proceedings* of the Convention of Teachers of the Confederate States, at Columbia, S. C., April 28, 1863 (Macon, Ga., 1863,).

†Latin Grammar, Greensboro, 1863; Cæsar's Commentaries, Greensboro, 1864.

port of Wilmington during 1863–64, became for a considerable time the main support of the North Carolina troops, and through them of the Confederacy. Goods were purchased by the State abroad on warrants that were backed by 11,000 bales of cotton and 100,000 barrels of rosin. Among the imports intended for use of the army directly were 50,000 blankets; shoes and leather sufficient for 250,000 pairs; gray woollen cloth for 250,000 uniforms; 12,000 overcoats ready made; 2,000 Enfield rifles with 100 rounds of fixed ammunition; 100,000 pounds of bacon; 500 sacks of coffee for hospital use; $50,000 worth of medicines at gold prices; large quantities of lubricating oils and other minor supplies of various kinds for the charitable institutions of the State, besides many other necessities of life needed by the people for every day use. The supplies of shoes, blankets, and clothing were more than enough for the North Carolina troops, and large quantities were turned over to the Confederate Government for the troops of other States. In the winter of 1863–64 Governor Vance supplied Longstreet's corps with 14,000 suits of clothing complete, and after the surrender of Joe Johnston, North Carolina had ready-made and in cloth 92,000 suits of uniform; there was also a great store of blankets, leather, &c. When Johnston's army surrendered it had five month's supplies for 60,000 men, and for many months Lee's army had drawn its supplies from North Carolina. It has been said that at the end of the war North Carolina had supplies sufficient for her to have still prolonged the struggle for two years. It was due to the executive ability of Governor Vance, a son of this University, that North Carolina found herself in this enviable position, and to this is due the fact that our people suffered less than other States, comparatively.

Not only did Governor Vance provide thoroughly for the wants of the soldiers in the field, but he was careful also to see that the families of the men in the army were not allowed to suffer. Granaries were established at certain points in the State, and corn was distributed to the most needy districts; commissioners were appointed in each county to look after the needy, and in this way the State became, for the time, a great almoner. Commissioners were appointed, whose sole duty was to provide salt, and the chief of the bureau for making salt, saltpeter, copperas, sulphur, sulphuric acids, and medical extracts, was Prof. W. C. Kerr, class of 1850. As early as 1862 he had been chemist and superintendent to the Mecklenburg Salt Company, whose works were located at Mt. Pleasant, near Charleston, S. C. He had made such improvements in the manufacture

that the cost for wood was reduced one-half and other expenses lessened. The University takes an honorable place also in the manufacture of iron, for the second largest iron-mill in the Confederacy was owned and controlled by Robert R. and John L. Bridgers, both alumni, the former being also a member of the Confederate Congress. There was danger of an iron famine in the Confederacy, and at the request of the government the Messrs. Bridgers purchased the High Shoals iron property in Lincoln, Gaston, and Cleveland counties, N. C., and rebuilt the furnaces, forges, rolling-mills, nail factories, and foundaries. The States of North and South Carolina became, to a large extent, dependent on these mills, and they did also much government work.

It was through such extraordinary measures as these that the necessities of life and the sinews of war were supplied to the people of North Carolina. This had a reflex action upon them, and kept up their interest and enthusiasm throughout the fearful struggle; their *esprit de corps* was little altered by the reverses of the battle-field. They had confidence in their government at home. The soldier in the field felt that his wife and children would not be allowed to suffer while his State was able to provide. This gave him renewed strength for battle and caused him to show that magnificent heroism which has been for a generation the wonder and the admiration of the world. But this is at best but only a partial reason for the tremendous weight thrown by North Carolina into the scale in behalf of the Confederacy. No one man is, perhaps, so much responsible for this period of the HEROIC as this son of our University, Zebulon Baird Vance. And never was there a greater *Landstrum*, a more universal *levé en masse* than was seen in this quiet, slow moving old State during those four tremendous years. The white population of North Carolina in 1860 was 629,942; her military population was 115,369, being the third in rank in this respect. Her proper proportion of troops according to population was about one-tenth. She furnished in reality about one-fifth of the troops of the Confederacy. On a conservative estimate she sent to the Confederate armies 125,000 men, or an average of about one soldier to each white family. She furnished 10,000 more troops than she had military population in 1860. More than one-fourth of the Confederates killed in battle were North Carolinians; nearly one-fourth of those who died of wounds were North Carolinians; one-third of those who died of disease were North Carolinians; two-sevenths of the total losses of the Confederacy were North Carolinians. She lost 40,275 men, or about thirty-

two per cent. of her total enrollment of 125,000. She lost more than twice as many troops as any other State, and yet surrendered twice as many troops as any other State at Appomattox. Prominent always among these troops of North Carolina were the alumni of this University. It was one of her alumni, General Bryan Grimes, class of 1848, who commanded the rear guard of Lee's army on its retreat from Petersburg, and it was the division under his command that, on the morning of April 9, 1865, made the last charge on the Federal lines that was ever made by the Army of Northern Virginia.

XIII. Epilogue.

Saving always the fact that North Carolinians did not, as a rule, develop the peculiar class of talent and character most highly esteemed by the President of the Confederacy, it seems safe to say that no educational institution contributed more to the Confederacy in proportion to relative strength than did the University of North Carolina. Not that this institution was more disloyal to the Federal Government than others in the South; not that her alumni were more pre-eminently given over to the doctrine of secession than were the alumni of other institutions; but when North Carolina saw, in May, 1861, that she had the choice between two evils and that she could not remain neutral in the pending struggle, she made the choice that was the most natural and reasonable. She chose the side of the State, or of local government, against the growing tendency toward centralization then given a new impetus by the Federal authorities. The alumni of her University responded gladly to her call to duty. They were faithful to the earlier teachings of their *Alma Mater*. They risked name and fame, life and fortune, for their State. They laid down their lives at her command.

The names of our Confederate dead are carved in marble on our memorial walls, but they have built themselves a monument more durable than marble. Their names are written in lines of living light

"On Fame's Eternal camping-ground."

The story of their heroism and their devotion to the call of duty will be cherished by this University as the brightest jewel in her centennial crown, and their names will be remembered in this institution as long as patriotism is honored here, for

"where great deeds were done,
A power abides transfused from sire to son."

LIEUT.-COLONEL FRANCIS W. SMITH, C. S. A.

A Short Sketch of a Short Life.

Francis Williamson Smith, son of James Marsden and Anne Walke Smith, was born at Norfolk, Va., November 12th, 1838. His education was commenced at the time-honored Norfolk Academy and continued at the Virginia Military Institute, where he graduated with first honors before he was eighteen. He took the course at the University of Virginia, but was interrupted in the second year by a long and severe attack of typhoid fever, and completed his education at the Ecole des Ponts et Chausées at Paris. On his return home, while still in his minority, he was unanimously elected to the chair of chemistry and geology and commandant of cadets at the State Military Seminary of Louisiana. There he was a colleague and friend of General Sherman, and remained so until Virginia seceded from the Union, when he promptly resigned and tendered his services to his native State.

He was appointed captain in the provisional army of Virginia by Governor Letcher and immediately assigned to duty by General R. E. Lee, who took him on his personal staff as his military secretary. General Lee was at that time stationed in Richmond engaged in the work of organization. General Beauregard at Manassas made application for Captain Smith, as "likely to be more useful to him at the front." General Lee declined to make the exchange, but when it became known to Captain Smith, after the opportunity was passed and he ardently desired more active service, General Lee advanced him to the grade of major and assigned him to the 41st Regiment Virginia Volunteers. He was given the command of Sewell's Point, the advanced post of Norfolk.

Soon afterwards Major Smith married Miss Deans, daughter of Josiah Lilly Deans, esquire, of Gloucester county. From this marriage there were two children. The eldest, Francis Williamson, died before he completed his first year, and the second, Anna Maria Dandridge survived him. He was at Sewell's Point all the winter, and his battery was engaged in the great naval battle between the ironclad "Virginia" and the Federal fleet in Hampton Roads, March 8th, 1862.

The provisional army of Virginia was soon afterwards merged into

the Confederate States army. Norfolk was evacuated, and Major Smith served on General Mahone's staff near Richmond until after the battle of Seven Pines, in which he was engaged.

He was then appointed Major of Artillery in the Confederate States of America and given command of a battalion at Drewry's Bluff at the time of the battle at that place. He continued there until Grant's demonstration against Richmond on the Southside, in the early campaign of 1864. Major Smith served with the command of General R. H. Anderson at the time of the battle of Chester and the second attack on Drewry's Bluff. Though stationed at the fort, he was able to render valuable voluntary service to General Anderson outside the fort, in consideration of which the General recommended him for promotion.

He was ordered in June to erect the battery at Howlett's House, our lowest point of defence on James river, and this he accomplished in an incredibly short time while under constant fire from the gunboats and batteries at Dutch Gap under General Butler. He held this post with a long line of defence in connection with Pickett's Division of Beauregard's army, until the order for the final retreat was given. During these months the firing on both sides was almost constant, lasting for hours day after day. The order for his promotion was given, but in the confusion and delays of those darkest days it did not reach him.

On the retreat from Richmond the rear of the Confederate line was harried by sharpshooters and continued skirmishing. The place of danger was in the rear, and there, on the evening of April 5th, he was mortally wounded, three of his men falling at the same time. He was taken in an ambulance to Amelia Courthouse, where he was left by our retreating forces, with those who were wounded beside him, without the aid and comforts which might have spared him to life and usefulness.

He died at noon April 6th. Thus, at the early age of twenty-six, a life beautiful and noble was ended in a soldier's grave, in a lost cause, though a cause that was not all in vain. *Dum spiro spero.* Better had it then been said, *Dum exspiro spero*—true alike of the vivid life which was passing out of sight, and the cause which three days later at Appomattox received its burial, to unfold anew after God's inscrutable plan—not ours.

Anna M. D. Smith,
White Marsh, Va.

[From the Galveston (Tex.) *Daily News*, Sunday, November 15, 1896.]

RECONSTRUCTION IN TEXAS.

By John C. Walker.

[The following paper was read before the Texas Historical Society of Galveston at its annual meeting, Tuesday evening, November 10, 1896, and is the first of a series of papers in preparation. Mr. Walker has taken a deep interest in the subject and has devoted a great amount of time in study and research. A great deal of the matter he brings up has never been more than touched upon by historical writers.]

Gentlemen of the Texas Historical Society of Galveston:

In response to your resolution requesting a contribution from me on "Reconstruction in Texas," I offer now, as an introduction, a sketch relating to the few months which immediately succeeded the close of the Civil War and which preceded the real beginning of "reconstruction," and will present others upon the subject named by you, hereafter, as even an outline would require more space than can be devoted to a single paper.

Such recitals, perhaps, should belong to a later day than this, when the time shall have passed for charges to be made against a writer of a desire to keep alive sectional feeling. Trusting, however, to record some of the most memorable events of that period impartially, I offer this, the first of a series of papers, compiled from such authorities as have been accessible to me, (aided by my personal recollections,) being fully aware of their incompleteness and imperfections.

Respectfully submitted,

John C. Walker.

THE BREAK-UP.

If chaos ever reigned in any land it did in Texas from May to August, 1865, following the news of Lee's surrender, which fell like a thunderbolt upon the army and the people. A large proportion of the troops of the Trans-Mississippi Department had wintered in Texas after the campaign of 1864, which began victoriously at Mans-

field, La., by the utter rout of General N. P. Banks by General "Dick" Taylor, and ended in a disastrous check at Yellow Bayou, owing to the greater part of the infantry supporting Taylor having been withdrawn and sent to Arkansas in pursuit of Steele. The army was waiting for hostilities to reopen. Another attempted invasion by way of Louisiana, Arkansas, or the Gulf coast was expected, and but few realized that the war was nearly over.

During the last year of the war communication with the Cis-Mississippi Department was almost entirely cut off, and the ports on the Gulf coast were blockaded. After the fall of Vicksburg the Mississippi river was patrolled by gunboats so closely that a skiff could hardly cross with safety. Although Lee's surrender took place on April 9th, it was not known anywhere in Texas until late in that month, and the intelligence did not reach many portions of the State until May was well advanced.

It is an incident worthy to be remembered that the last gun of the war was fired by a Texan on Texas soil, in an engagement on the Rio Grande, on May 13, 1865, fought near the historic field of Palo Alto, the combatants being ignorant of the stupendous events which had lately occurred.

The army and the people of Texas had unbounded faith in General Lee, most of them believing him invincible, and when the news of his surrender was received they were stunned and dazed. Even the few who had the prescience to foresee the end could not realize that it was so near at hand. Although the terrible significance of the surrender of General Lee was understood, at first there was but little thought that the war was really ended. On all sides were heard public expressions of determination to prolong the struggle.

While rumors were afloat to the effect that Lee had only surrendered a small part of his forces, and that the bulk of his army had joined Johnston; that President Davis and his Cabinet had escaped across the Mississippi river and would reorganize the government at Shreveport, La., and other unfounded reports of like nature, which deferred for a brief season the despair which was soon to follow.

On April 26th General Joe Shelby, of Missouri, issued an address to his men at Pittsburg, Tex., in which he said: "Stand by the ship, boys, as long as there is one plank upon another. All your hopes and fears are there. All that life holds dearest and nearest are there. Your bleeding motherland—pure and stainless as an angel-guarded child—the proud, imperial South, the nurse of your boyhood and the priestess of your faith, is there and calls upon you, her children,

her best and bravest, in the pride and purity of her manhood and your blood, to rally around her altars, the blue hills and the green fields of your nativity, and send your scornful challenge forth, 'the Saxon breasts are equal to the Norman steel.'" He exhorted the Missouri cavalry division to keep together and to prefer exile to submission. On April 27th Governor Pendleton Murrah, of Texas, issued a proclamation from Austin announcing the surrender of Lee and calling upon the people to recruit the army and continue the struggle, saying: "It may yet be the privilege of Texas, the youngest of the Confederate sisters, to redeem the cause of the Confederacy from its present perils."

On that day (April 27th) the brigade commanded by General W. P. Hardeman, encamped in Washington county, held a mass-meeting and resolved that though Lee had surrendered, they would not abandon the struggle until the right of self-government was established, and declared their readiness to march to the aid of their brethren in arms in the Cis-Mississippi Department.

STILL HOLDING ON.

Similar mass-meetings were held and like resolutions passed in other commands near the same time. At a public meeting held at Lagrange April 29th, resolutions were adopted to the effect that under no possible circumstances would the people ever submit to reunion or reconstruction. The citizens of Chappell Hill passed resolutions to reinforce the army and furnish their negroes as soldiers, and declared: "We would prefer a common grave for ourselves and our children than to submit to the rule of Northern despots." Similar resolutions were adopted in Colorado, Limestone and many other counties.

On April 29th Governor Henry Watkins Allen, of Louisiana, issued a ringing address to the soldiers of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Missouri, calling upon them "to unite in a solemn pledge to stand as patriots and freemen firmly to the holy cause, in storm or sunshine, in misfortune or success, through good report and through evil report, and to fight our invaders now and for all time to come, in armies, in regiments, in companies, in squads or singly, until our independence is won and conceded."

On May 5th General J. B. Magruder issued an address to his soldiers announcing Lee's surrender, and stating that the Federal general (Banks) had proposed a surrender of the troops in this de-

partment, which he would not even consider. The concluding words of the address were: "We are not whipped, and no matter what may transpire elsewhere, recollect we never will be whipped."

Slender as were the grounds for hope, it was not wholly abandoned while the fate of Johnston's army and the other forces across the Mississippi was unknown. The idea of continuing the war in this State was prevalent, and by many believed practicable, and strongly advocated during the few weeks which preceded the final dissolution of the Confederate forces in Texas.

General E. Kirby Smith, commanding the department, issued an address from Shreveport, La., to the soldiers, on April 22d, saying in reference to Lee's surrender at Appomattox: "His army was but a small portion of our forces in Virginia. The armies of Johnston and Beauregard, tripling that under General Lee, are still in the field presenting an unterrified front to the enemy."

On the same day, nearly three hundred miles away, the officers, from colonels to lieutenants, in the regiments known as Pyron's, Elmore's, De Bray's, Cook's Heavy Artillery, the Second Texas Cavalry, and others, signed a stirring appeal to the troops, which by a coincidence embodied the same sentiments as those at the same time promulgated by the commanding general. They asserted that Johnston and Beauregard "still present an unbroken front to the invading foe," and declared, "we still will meet the foe upon the threshold of our State with fire and sword, nerved by the unanswering and unalterable determination never to yield." To the same effect were the resolutions passed in mass-meeting by Harrison's brigade. On May 17th was published the following order of Major T. M. Harwood, commanding the cavalry battalion, Waul's Legion: "Members of this command will rendezvous at Brenham, Washington county, May 28th, prepared to march immediately to brigade headquarters east of the Mississippi river." About that date General Majors addressed his brigade, exhorting them "to stand by the flag." Such were the spontaneous expressions of the commanders, the army and the citizens when the first authentic news of Lee's surrender reached Texas, and before they realized that other and final disasters could occur in such quick succession. There were no telegraphs beyond the State lines; only one railroad, the Houston and Texas Central, penetrated the interior of the State to a distance of eighty-one miles from Houston, and the Texas and New Orleans railroad paralelled the coast only from Beaumont to Houston. Communication was cut off by way of the Mississippi, every harbor was

blockaded by warships, and, as was stated by the Galveston *News* at that time, about a month was required to get reliable news from Virginia, Tennessee and the Carolinas. During this season of doubt and suspense discipline was fairly maintained among the troops, though it was evident that the determination to fight to the last man did not prevail in the ranks to a great extent.

THE FORCES IN GALVESTON.

On May 12th, the day the news of Johnston's capitulation reached General Magruder at Houston, he went by train to Galveston, assembled the forces there on parade, and, in a speech to them, said that he had determined to make any sacrifice of life and property, however unavailing, rather than yield an inch of ground to the enemy; that he confidently expected to meet and repel any attempt the enemy might make to invade the country. The comment made upon his speech at the time by an intelligent observer was: "His remarks were listened to with silence and respect by the troops, but without any manifestations of enthusiasm."

Even before the news of Lee's surrender reached Texas there had been signs of discontent apparent among some of the soldiers who were scattered in regimental and brigade camps principally throughout the southern and what was then the western part of the State—the section of greatest abundance of food supplies. While none openly admitted that the fall of the Confederacy was a possibility, many read in the march of Sheridan through the Valley of Virginia, of Sherman through Georgia, and in Lee's reverses the presage of coming disaster.

In some regiments acts of open insubordination had been committed during the early spring. In one instance quite a number of cavalry took a furlough without leave, not deserting, but openly leaving with the avowed intention of visiting their families more than a hundred miles away, and of returning when it should suit their pleasure. They reached their homes, but were not permitted to remain, for their heroic and patriotic wives and mothers, devoted to the cause as were all the women of the Old South, promptly sent them back to their old commands, not permitting some who had arrived during a storm to remain long enough to dry their blankets.

Besides this feeling of unrest and the consequent tendency to infraction of discipline, and the natural effects of disheartening reports from across the Mississippi, there were other potent causes for de-

moralization among the ranks. While the commissary was supplied during the early spring of 1865 fairly well with coarse food, the soldiers were poorly clad, at least those who could not depend on shoes and homespun clothes sent them from their homes. The blue uniforms taken from the captured trains of General Banks during the spring of 1864 were threadbare, and the Confederate gray issued by the Quartermaster Department to the private soldiers was indeed scant; yet at this time there was being conducted under the auspices of government officials a large trade with Mexico, in the course of which wagon trains of cotton, then worth 50 cents a pound in gold, were constantly carried across the Rio Grande and train loads of army supplies brought back. The soldiers could not see why so small a proportion of the proceeds of this trade was devoted to their necessities. Although by the conscript laws every ablebodied man (excepting civil officials) between the ages of 18 and 45 was required to be an enlisted soldier, and those between 17 and 18 and 45 and 50 were in the reserve corps doing provost and guard duty, there was an alleged system of detailing favorites on all kinds of imaginary service at posts and about headquarters—"bomb-proof" positions, as they were called.

DISSATISFACTION WITH MAGRUDER.

There was also dissatisfaction among the men regarding some of their superiors, extending even to the general officers. General Magruder's headquarters were at Houston, and for many months before the final scenes of the war were enacted he was said to be living in a style not of strict Spartan simplicity. Ably seconded by his favorite subordinates, he was a leader of fashion and the central figure of a gay society. The soldiers believed, whether justly or otherwise, that the "blue beef" and corn pones—the daily fare of the private soldier—were not the rations issued at headquarters, and grumbled accordingly, for they were accustomed to see the Confederate commanders share all the hardships and privations with their men.

General Magruder was popular with most of the officers and with some of the private soldiers, but at the close of the war he did not enjoy that unbounded confidence which a military leader must have in order to inspire enthusiasm or command unquestioned obedience in a crisis like that at hand; and it is not a matter of surprise that the private soldiers were unresponsive to his appeal to continue the struggle in Texas after all was lost in the Cis-Mississippi Department.

There was still another cause for the sudden and complete disbanding of the Confederate forces.

As is well known, the best blood of the South was in the ranks, and a large proportion of the private soldiers were of high intelligence and education. Such men knew the utter futility of further opposing the overwhelming forces of the United States, after the great armies of the Confederacy had succumbed, its capital abandoned and destroyed, and its President a prisoner. They fully realized when the news of these accumulated disasters was received that further resistance was useless, and many acted upon the determination to spill no more blood in a hopeless cause.

Some of the general officers foresaw the result months before it was believed possible by the soldiery. General Taylor in his work, "Destruction and Reconstruction," (page 197,) says: "Upon what foundation the civil authorities of the Confederacy rested their hopes of success after the campaign of 1864 fully opened I am unable to say; but their commanders in the field, whose rank and position enabled them to estimate the situation, fought simply to afford statesmanship an opportunity to mitigate the sorrows of inevitable defeat." Again, in recounting an interview with President Davis in September, 1864, he says (page 206): "I did not disguise my conviction that the best we could hope for was to protract the struggle until spring." President Davis not only disagreed with this, but believed the continuance of hostilities feasible up to the moment of his capture. He says in his work (page 696): "If, as now seemed probable, (after the fall of Richmond,) there should be no prospect of successful defence, I intended then to cross the Mississippi river, where I believed Generals E. K. Smith and Magruder would continue to uphold our cause."

Taylor, then a lieutenant-general, surrendered at Meridian, Miss., to General E. S. R. Canby on May 8th, and it may not be inappropriate to quote the words of the Confederate commander in Order No. 54 respecting the distinguished Federal officer. He said: "The intelligent, comprehensive and candid bearing pending negotiations of Major-General Canby, U. S. A., to whom I have surrendered, entitle him to our highest respect and confidence. His liberality and fairness make it the duty of each and all to faithfully execute our part of the contract."

DISINTEGRATION OF THE ARMY.

But to return to the action of the army when the total collapse of

the Cis-Mississippi Department became known as an undoubted fact. This period was long known in Texas as "the breakup." Regiments, companies, brigades disintegrated and disbanded with incredible rapidity. In some commands there was not a man left on the scene of a former encampment in an hour's time, the soldiers, seizing wagons, mules and other government property and scattering in squads, couples and singly, all going towards their respective homes in a peaceful and orderly manner. The disbandment of their regiment was attended by disorder, in some cases the troops defying such officers as pleaded with them to remain. Some left without consultation with their officers. Lieutenant-Colonel Fontaine, in charge of three batteries of artillery, awoke one morning to find the men in only one remaining, the members of the others having departed with the horses, wagons and camp equipage, leaving the guns and caissons. In some commands, notably in Hardeman's and DeBray's brigades, the private soldiers stood by their colors until their officers agreed that it was useless to remain longer and went through the form of giving them honorable discharge from the service, and when at last they departed, realizing that the stars and bars represented the government of a proud people no longer, the farewells spoken were most affecting, and their homeward march was made with broken spirits and heavy hearts. The different regiments composing the army were so scattered, having been posted during the preceding winter at the most available points for subsistence, there could be no concert of action, but as the tidings of the "breakup" elsewhere reached a command, it followed the general movement either at once or after a short period of delay. Where the soldiers were quartered in towns, or near depots of government supplies, many took possession of quartermaster, commissary and ordnance stores and appropriated such effects as they desired. At Anderson a magazine exploded, causing loss of life and destruction of property. At Galveston a blockade runner, which had escaped the enemy's guns, was pillaged upon reaching the wharf in front of the city. At Houston the government stores were appropriated not only by the soldiers, but by women and boys, the families of soldiers who were serving in distant commands. The ordnance stores there were either carried off or destroyed, and guns, shot and shell were thrown into Buffalo bayou. Gunpowder in large quantities was spilled and scattered about in the magazines, and the city had a narrow escape from a terrific explosion.

The troops reasoned that they had fought and suffered all kinds

of hardships during four years for the Confederacy, and that such of its property as could be secured rightfully belonged to them upon its downfall. It is hard to see who were better entitled to it than they, and such opinion was then shared by the citizens and advocated by the newspapers. The wagon trains returning from Mexico with supplies in charge of Confederate agents furnished rare sport as well as profit. A difference of opinion existed between these agents and the soldiers as to which were properly residuary legatees of the remnants of the Confederate estate, each claiming that right, but in all cases, except where defeated by the agents' skill in hiding property, the soldiers easily maintained the superiority of their title.

San Antonio was the most important post in Texas in many respects, being the base of supplies nearest the Mexican border, and financial agents were stationed there, having possession of large amounts of government funds in gold and silver. Two companies from Pyron's regiment were there, while others on detached service and employed in the various departments swelled the number of soldiers at that point to 700 or 800 men.

LASKER AS A FINANCIER.

When the news of Lee's surrender reached San Antonio, its import, while not fully appreciated, was apprehended, and the idea that the Confederacy was about to collapse imbued the men with the determination to appropriate and divide the gold and silver in the hands of the Confederate agents, they assuming that otherwise the money would only serve to enrich those who had served their country but little, if at all. M. Lasker, of Galveston, (now State Senator,) a private in Pyron's regiment, was a prime mover in securing an equal division of the government funds, and he, with others, notified the officers that in case the Confederacy should fall the government money should be divided equally. The officers endeavored to sustain the hopes of the men, saying that if the Cis-Mississippi Department should fall the bulk of the armies there would cross the river and carry on the war in the Trans-Mississippi Department, but the soldiers, in anticipation of what might occur, placed guards over the Alamo building, to which $80,000 in silver had been removed, and also over the offices of the financial agents, as a precautionary measure. When the news of the surrender of Johnston, Taylor and Buckner was received they concluded there was no use in deferring action longer, and then required the financial agents to show their

books and to deliver up the specie, which was fairly divided, the sum of $160 being received by each officer and man. San Antonio having valuable stores owned by private individuals, it was feared that marauding stragglers might sack the city. Mr. Lasker, in conjunction with others from his regiment, assisted the civil authorities in maintaining order until the arrival of Colonel Pyron, who organized a body of men to protect the place and its inhabitants, and remained there under discipline doing guard duty until such dangers had passed.

As a general rule the depredations of the soldiery were confined to the property of the Confederate government, to which they considered themselves entitled. In but few instances was the property of citizens disturbed or interfered with. Notwithstanding the demoralizing effect of the sudden release of a large body of soldiery from all discipline or restraint their behavior towards the citizens was in the main exemplary. A terrible calamity had fallen upon all alike, and when military organization was abandoned the soldiers fraternized with the people, and the people opened their arms to those who had been their defenders as though they were returning crowned with the laurels of victory. The soldiers of the Texas army were impatient of discipline, but braver men never lived. They were of the same material as those who made name and fame for Texas across the Mississippi. Fathers serving in Tennessee had sons here with Green, Walker or Polignac; one brother would be marching and fighting, ragged and barefooted, in Virginia, while another followed the flag through the swamps of Louisiana. They were of the same blood and of the same families with those who composed Hood's brigade and Terry's rangers, which organizations deserve to rank in valor with the legions of Cæsar and the battalions of Napoleon.

The disbanding of the troops began about the middle of May, and up to the 31st there were men under arms in isolated commands or where remnants of regiments still devoted to the cause kept together and refused to accept the inevitable; but the forces continued to be depleted day by day.

On May 21st part of a regiment still remained at Corpus Christi; on the 29th the force at Galveston was scarcely sufficient to man the forts, and by the 1st of June, with the exception of scattered detachments at different points in the State, the army which had won renown throughout the war on many fields, from New Mexico to the Mississippi, passed into a memory.

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A COMMANDER WITHOUT AN ARMY.

While the disintegration of the army was going on General Kirby Smith was en route from Shreveport to Houston, a journey which occupied many days at that time. Upon his arrival he issued an address (May 30th) to the soldiers of Texas, from which the following extracts show the condition in which he found military affairs: "My purpose," he said, "was to concentrate the entire strength of the department, await negotiations, and, if possible, secure terms alike honorable to soldier and citizen. Failing in this, I intended to struggle to the last. I reached here to find the Texas troops disbanded and hastening to their homes. * * * Soldiers, I am left a commander without an army, a general without troops. You have made your choice. It was unwise and unpatriotic, but it is final. You have voluntarily destroyed your organization and thrown away all means of resistance."

On June 2d General Smith visited the blockading fleet off Galveston and there ratified with the Federal admiral (Thatcher) the terms of the convention between Canby and Buckner agreed to on May 26th, and three days later Captain Sands landed and hoisted the United States flag over the custom house. Shortly afterwards Federal troops took possession of the place, and on the 19th the Federal general (Gordon Granger) assumed command of "the military district of Texas," under the new regime.

The dissolution of the Confederate military organization in Texas was followed by an universal feeling of the most intense anxiety and suspense, which increased each day. An outburst of wrath throughout the North against the fallen South had followed the assassination of Lincoln. Some of the leading newspapers accused the Confederate authorities with having been implicated in the plot. The inflamed state of the Northern mind rendered the preposterous accusation easy of belief, while the bitter feeling engendered by the war was intensified by the crime. Threats of the direst punishment, of wholesale prosecution for treason and confiscation of property filled the Northern papers. An influential New York journal, on April 25th, in an editorial, complacently disposed of the policy to be pursued towards the Southern people as follows: "It will, beyond all doubt, be the aim of President Johnson to break up and distribute the large lands and properties in the South. This object Mr. Johnson proposed to accomplish by a vigorous enforcement of the confiscation laws against the rebel land holders. * * * The division

of the great Southern States into small freeholds will effect a complete social revolution in the South, and this is probably one of the objects which Mr. Johnson has most at heart, and in which he will be fully supported by the new Congress."

President Johnson himself, in a speech delivered shortly after his inauguration, said :

"But if the assassin of the President is not to escape deserved punishment, what shall be done to those who have attempted the assassination of the Republic—who have compassed the life of the nation? The lesson must be taught beyond the possibility of ever being unlearned, that treason is a crime—the greatest of human crimes."

Expressions from high authority, of which these are samples, seemed to foreshadow unrelenting and vindictive persecution, to what limit none could surmise. Jefferson Davis was a prisoner in Fortress Monroe, ignominiously ironed like a common felon; John H. Reagan, late Confederate postmaster-general, was likewise confined in Fort Warren. Other late officials had escaped by flight in disguise and found safety in foreign lands. What future was reserved for the South, prostrate and helpless, wholly subject to the will of the victorious North, appeared to be beyond the scope of prophetic vision.

A SCATTERING OF OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS.

Many Texas officers, civil and military, went to Mexico, among them Governors Clark and Murrah, Generals Smith, Magruder, Walker, Hardeman and Bee, who were joined there by Generals Price, of Missouri; Hindman, of Arkansas, and Early of Virginia. General Joe Shelby, of Missouri, fulfilled his promise by leading a portion of his command into exile across the Rio Grande. Other officers of high rank, among whom were Generals Waul, DeBray and Majors, returned to their homes to endure whatever fate might be in reserve for them.

The private soldiers and subaltern officers scattered throughout the State, and the ceremony of surrendering and being paroled was for the most part never performed. Few Confederates in Texas were actually surrendered or were ever paroled, though General Granger issued an order on June 19th requiring them to report at certain named places for the purpose of being paroled, and expressing his disapprobation of their having dispersed without attending to what he considered an important requisite to the release of prisoners

of war according to military rules. Owing to the sparsely settled country, the difficulty of diffusing information at that time and the immense area of Texas, it is more than probable that a majority of the late Confederate soldiers in this State never heard of the order.

June 19th was a date prolific of orders and proclamations. Beside that relating to the parole of the disbanded Confederates, and one for the liberation of the slaves which will be mentioned later, the general in command issued another on that day demanding the return of "all public property, arms, etc., belonging to the so-called Confederate States." The order was most peremptory and gave notice that "all persons not promptly complying to this order will be arrested as prisoners of war and sent north for imprisonment, and their property forfeited." Savage and threatening as this document appeared on its face, it did not strike much terror to the hearts of those old Confederate soldiers who had secured anything from the general wreck. They could not readily believe that after all the prisoners of war had been liberated a new prison system would be put in operation for the especial benefit of those who should not promptly "comply" with the order to return the government effects, and as to a forfeiture of their own property, the average Confederate soldier at the close of the war would have gladly divided equally with the finder any property of his which could be discovered by General Granger or any one else. The order, however, was complied with to a certain extent. A few old muskets and Enfield rifles were turned in, and some unserviceable horses and mules were given up to the United States agents, but Confederate property in the hands of the old soldiers which was worth anything as a general rule remained in their possession. They generally showed no indisposition to return what was worthless, but scrupulously drew the line at anything of substantial value.

EMANCIPATION.

The conduct of the negroes during the war had been most exemplary. In many neighborhoods plantations cultivated by a force of a hundred or more were managed by white women. A few old men and boys under seventeen years of age constituted all the male whites in many localities where the negro population was relatively ten to one. In some cases plantations were managed by negro foremen without any white person in charge, the owners being in the army or living miles away. Yet throughout the war crime of any kind was but rarely committed by negroes, and the general experience of

that time justifies the assertion that in Texas at least they were trustworthy and faithful servants.

On June 19th General Granger issued his order of emancipation in pursuance of Lincoln's proclamation. This was expected by most of the people, although a few clung to the theory that the right of slave ownership was guaranteed by the Constitution, and would be respected at least where proof of loyalty could be made. There was no delay in obeying this order upon its promulgation. In the rural districts remote from military posts the behavior of the slaves upon acquiring their new found liberty was generally better than what might have been expected. The crops for that year were growing, and in most instances they remained with their former masters upon wages until after the harvest. Many refused to be emancipated, or rather to leave their masters, whom they regarded as their best friends. It is true that those whose idea of freedom was merely freedom from labor, quit work and congregated about the small towns and villages luxuriating in the enjoyment of undisturbed idleness, but as a rule the country negro in 1865 was industrious and peaceful. Not until the Freedman Bureau and carpet-bag element took possession of the State did serious race troubles begin.

At military posts which included cities and large towns the newly emancipated slaves soon imbibed the idea that they were the wards of the Government, and being taught that the war had been waged for their freedom, they thought that their liberators also owed them support. They began to flock to the points which were garrisoned in large numbers, but were somewhat discouraged by a circular order from General Granger from which the following extracts are taken: "All persons formerly slaves are earnestly enjoined to remain with their former masters under such contracts as may be made for the present time. Their own interest as well as their former masters' or other parties requiring their service renders such a course necessary until permanent arrangements can be made under the auspices of the Freedman's Bureau. * * * No persons formerly slaves will be permitted to travel on the public thoroughfares without passes or permits from their employers, to congregate in buildings or camps at or adjacent to any military post or town."

A PECULIAR FEDERAL ORDER.

A remarkable feature of this order is the requirement by a Federal general that freemen should have passes or permits from their em-

ployers in order to travel on the public highways—a regulation never very strictly enforced by slave owners before slavery was abolished. In the light of other occurrences about that time the order requiring them to carry a pass, the essential badge of slavery, was indeed anomalous. For example, a public negro ball was given by permission of the military authorities at Galveston, and no permit was obtained from the municipal authorities, which was a breach of the city ordinances. The manager was fined by the recorder, J. P. Cole, and committed to jail in default of payment. The Galveston *News* thus described what followed: "On the 3d instant, while the council was in session with Mayor Leonard presiding, a Federal officer with armed guard entered the city hall and arrested the mayor, taking him from his seat and putting him in jail." It further stated that he was "permitted to resume the functions of his office, with instructions, however, that military orders at present are the supreme law of the land."

In this manner was the enforcement of the law by local authorities resented where it conflicted with the will of the Federal officers.

THE SUMMER OF 1865.

United States troops leisurely took possession of and established posts at the principal points in the State, but the force was wholly insufficient to afford even a small garrison in every county, so there were many sections of hundreds of square miles where Federal soldiers were not seen for many months.

Meanwhile Texas was without a government of any kind. The executive department and the courts were closed, and were only reopened upon the temporary organization effected later on by the provisional governor, A. J. Hamilton.

Bands of lawless men, "jayhawkers" as they were called, terrorized some sections of the country, and, while General Granger denounced them in his orders as "enemies to the human race, who would be dealt with as such," his soldiers exterminated but few if any of them.

Meanwhile a more hopeful feeling gained ground among the people as to the future. The tone of the Northern press and of the Northern speakers became more moderate. President Johnson had issued a proclamation of limited amnesty, and had expressed himself as inclined to adopt a "merciful" policy toward the South.

In June, Gerrit Smith, a leading abolitionist, delivered an address

at Cooper Institute, New York, in which he said: "The North, under the persistent clamors of the press and pulpit to punish the South for treason, is in danger of committing the mean crime of the age. Lips and pen no more influential than mine can do but little to avert this danger, but what little they can do shall be done. * * * All over the North there is clamor for the blood of the leading rebels whom we have captured and those whom we hope to capture. I have no sympathy with this clamor. The South fully surrendering, let bloodshed cease and all punishment." But while strongly opposing prosecutions for treason, he echoed the sentiment that the landed estates in the South should be parceled out, and on the subject of suffrage he said: "All the disloyal must be kept away from the ballot-box—the masses for ten years and the leaders for life." Horace Greeley spoke at the same meeting, saying that the trial of men paroled under the laws of war would be "a black violation of faith."

The New York *Commercial Advertiser* said editorially: "We do not see how General Lee or any of his soldiers can be arrested without violating a solemn compact and our national faith and honor. General Lee and others may have merited the severest punishment, but we cannot now mete it out to them. The terms were perhaps too liberal, but they secured an immediate peace, and we must not repudiate them. Let not our fair names be tarnished by any such acts of blighted faith and infidelity."

The great military chieftains who had fought and won the late war, headed by General Grant, were foremost in taking a decided stand against the violation of the terms of surrender, and their attitude upon that question had potent influence in averting the threatened prosecutions.

The New York *World* published an elaborate argument against confiscation of Southern property, and other Northern papers quoted and approved its views.

Indications of moderation such as these inspired the people of Texas with the hope that the evils they had feared would at least be mitigated, and that civil government under the Constitution would soon be restored.

This seemed to be promised by the appointment of Andrew J. Hamilton provisional governor by the proclamation of President Johnson on June 17, 1865. The late Hon. Charles Stewart has described Governor Hamilton as "in many respects a remarkable man," and as "a man of generous impulses and of extraordinary intellectual power." He was a member of Congress at the time of

secession, and being a Union man went north at the beginning of the war and remained there until its close. Among the duties imposed upon him by the President was that of convening a constitutional convention, the proclamation reciting that the delegates were "to be chosen by that portion of the people of said State who are loyal to the United States, and no other." He reached Texas in July, 1865, and assumed the duties of his office on the 25th of that month. Then really began the period never to be forgotten by those who passed through it known as "Reconstruction of the State of Texas."

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GEN. PATTON ANDERSON, C. S. A.

[Transcribed by Mrs. Anderson and kindly furnished by her for publication, through Rev. H. A. Brown, Saxe, Va.—Ed.]

I was born in Winchester, Franklin county, Tennessee, on the 16th day of February, 1822. My father, William Preston Anderson, was a native of Botetourt county, Virginia, and was born about the year 1775. During the second term of General Washington's administration he received from the President a commission of lieutenant in the United States army. About this time, or soon after, he removed to Tennessee, and at one time was United States district attorney for the —— judicial district, and was subsequently surveyor-general of the district of Tennessee. In the year of 1812 he was colonel in the 24th United States infantry and was accidentally with Colonel Crogan in his defense of Fort Harrison. During this war he married my mother (Margaret L. Adair), who was the fifth daughter of Major-General John Adair, of Mercer county, Kentucky. He had previously been married to Miss Nancy Bell, by whom he had three children—Musadora, Rufus King and Caroline. In the second marriage there were born Nancy Bell, Catharine Adair, John Adair, (who died in infancy,) James Patton, John Adair, (who died in 1858,) Thomas Scott and Butler Preston. When I was an infant my father removed from the town of Winchester to his farm, "Craggy Hope,"

about six miles distant, where he resided till his death, in April, 1831. When about eight years old I was sent for a short time to a country school near home, where I learned the alphabet and began to spell and read. Soon after my father's death my mother returned with her six children to her father's in Mercer county, Kentucky. My brother John Adair and myself were soon after sent to the house of Charles Buford (who had married my mother's youngest sister) in Scott county, Kentucky, and remained there about a year, attending a country school taught by a Mr. Phillips. This was in 1831–'2. In 1833 I returned to my grandfather's and went to school to a young man named Van Dyke who taught in the neighborhood, afterwards to Mr. Tyler, and still later to a Mr. Boutwell, who were successively principal of Cave Run Acadamy in Mercer county. I was then sent to the house of Judge Thomas B. Monroe, in Frankfort. Mrs. Monroe was also a sister of my mother. Here I remained about a year or perhaps more, attending a select school taught by B. B. Sayre. About this time my mother was married to Dr. J. N. Bybee, of Harrodsburg, Kentucky. I was taken to his house and went to school in the village to a Mr. Rice, and afterwards to a Mr. Smith. In October, 1836, I was sent to Jefferson College, at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania. I remained there a year, when pecuniary misfortunes compelled my stepfather to withdraw me. In the winter of 1838 I kept up my studies with a young man named Terry, then teaching in Harrodsburg. During this winter I boarded at the house of my uncle John Adair, three miles in the country. In the spring of 1838 I was sent up to Three Forks of the Kentucky river, in Estill county, where my stepfather had established a saw-mill and had opened a coal mine. During this year, too, I made a trip with my mother to Winchester, Tenn., on horseback, where she went to close up some of the unsettled business of my father's estate. In the fall of 1838 my stepfather determined to remove to north Mississippi, then being rapidly settled, the Indians having been removed west of the Mississippi river. I accompanied him on horseback from Harrodsburg, Ky., to Hernando, in De Soto county, Miss. I remained here during the winter of 1838–'9 assisting in building cabins, clearing land, &c., for the comfort of the family. In April, 1839, I was sent back to Jefferson College. I entered the junior class and graduated in 1840. I returned to De Soto county, Miss., and began the study of law in the office of Buckner & Delafield, and was admitted to the bar by Judge Howry in 1843.

Having no money with which to support myself, and the bar being

crowded with the best talent of Tennessee, Alabama and other States which had been attracted to this new country by its great prosperity and promise, I accepted the position of deputy sheriff of De Soto county under my brother-in-law, Col. James H. Murray, who had been elected to that office in the fall of 1843. I held this position, from which a comfortable support was derived, till 1846, when the prospect seemed favorable to commence the practice of law. In the summers of 1844 and 1845 I spent three months of each year at the law school of Judge Thomas B. Monroe at Montrose over at Frankfort, Ky. I have always regarded these months as more profitably spent than any others of my life. In 1847 I formed a partnership with R. B. Mayes, a young lawyer of the State about my own age. (During the time I discharged the functions of deputy sheriff, I also practiced law in partnership with my former preceptor, E. F. Buckner, whenever I could do so consistently with the duties of the office.) In October, 1847, I received an earnest appeal from Governor A. G. Brown, of Mississippi, to organize a company in response to a call from the President of the United States, for service in Mexico. (I had previously made several efforts to enter the military service during the war with Mexico, but all the organizations from De Soto county had failed to be received by the Governor, their distance from the capital making them too late in reporting.) In a few days I organized a company of volunteers from the regiment of militia in the county, of which I was then colonel. I was elected captain of the company without opposition. H. Car Forrest was elected 1st lieutenant, my brother John Adair was elected 2d lieutenant, and my brother Thomas Scott, orderly sergeant. The company repaired hurriedly to Vicksburg, the rendezvous. Two other companies had already reached the encampment. After waiting a fortnight or more for the other two companies of the battalion called for by the President to report, the five companies were sent to New Orleans for equipment and organization. Having received arms, clothing, &c., they embarked about the 2d of January, 1848, for Tampico, Mexico.

On the 22d of February, 1848, I was elected at Tampico lieutenant-colonel to command the battalion. I remained at Tampico till the close of the war, when I was mustered out of the service along with the battalion at Vicksburg, Miss., and reached my home at Hernando on the 4th of July, 1848.

I resumed the practice of law in partnership with R. B. Mayes. Our prospects were flattering as the business of the firm was grad-

ually increasing. In the fall of 1849 I was elected one of the members of the Legislature from De Soto county after a very heated and closely contested canvass. In January, 1850, I took my seat in the Legislature. Gen. John A. Quitman was at the same time inaugurated governor of the State. The celebrated compromise measures were then pending in the Congress of the United States, and the country much excited on the topic then being discussed. Jefferson Davis and H. S. Foote were then the United States Senators from Mississippi. I took the same view of the question with Davis and Quitman—voted for a resolution in the House of Representatives of Mississippi requesting Senator Foote to resign his seat, inasmuch as he did not reflect the will of the State in voting for the compromise bill. I sustained cordially and sincerely all the prominent measures of Governor Quitman's administration, and believed great injustice and wrong was done the South in the passage of the compromise bill by the Congress of the United States. In 1851 I was renominated by the Democratic party of De Soto county for a seat in the Legislature. My health at this time was very bad, which precluded me from making a thorough canvass of the county. The contest was an exceedingly warm one and in many portions of the State was even bitter. It has passed into history. Mr. Davis was defeated for governor by General Foote. The whole Democratic party was left in a minority; with the rest I was defeated by over a hundred majority in an aggregate vote of about eighteen hundred; resumed the practice of law; succeeded as well as could be hoped; health still bad from fever and ague.

In 1853 Jefferson Davis was tendered the position of Secretary of War in Mr. Pierce's Cabinet. In answer to a letter of mine in February of this year he advised me to proceed to Washington city where he would use his influence to procure me a commission in the new rifle regiments then about to be raised by Congress for frontier defense. My health by this time became so bad from the effects of sedentary habits and the agues engendered in a miasmatic climate, that friends and physicians advised me to remove from Mississippi to a colder and dryer climate. I accepted Mr. Davis's proposal and repaired to Washington city, where I arrived on the night of the 4th of March, 1853, in time to learn that the bill to raise a rifle regiment had failed for want of time to receive President Fillmore's signature. I remained, however, a fortnight without making any effort or application to receive any other position. The bill to organize the territory of Washington had become a law on the 3d of

March. My uncle, John Adair, who had removed to Astoria in Oregon in 1848, was now in Washington city and was extremely anxious for me to remove to that distant region, where my brothers John and Butler had gone in 1850. Through his instrumentality and the kindness of Mr. Davis (now Secretary of War) I was appointed United States marshal for the Territory of Washington. I accepted it and set about making preparations for the journey. Two difficulties were in the way—1st, the want of money, and 2d, I was engaged to be married to my cousin Henrietta Buford Adair, and I doubted the policy of taking her into such a wild and new country with no other help or dependence for a support than my own exertions. I returned to Memphis where she was, consulted her, and we agreed to try our fortunes on this unknown sea. Her father gave her eight hundred dollars, and by borrowing six hundred from Stephen D. Johnston, of De Soto county [this was soon returned by collections from his practice, which his health at the time did not permit him to attend to.—E. A. A.], I raised about the same amount. [My recollection is he raised about one thousand, possibly a little over.—E. A. A.] We were married in Memphis on the 30th of April, 1853, and in an hour afterwards were on our way to the Pacific coast aboard of a Mississippi steamer bound for New Orleans. We embarked at New Orleans on the 7th of May on board a steamer bound for Greytown in Nicaragua. The first day at sea my wife was taken very ill of fever. For several days her life seemed to be suspended by a thread. These were the most anxious days of my life. Happily she was better by the time we reached Greytown. Taking a small river steamer there we commenced the ascent of the San Juan river. After several days of toil we reached Virgin Bay, only to learn that the steamer from San Francisco, on which we had expected to reach that city on her return trip, had sprung a leak and was compelled to go down the coast to Panama for repairs, and that she would probably not return for a month. This was a great disappointment to the eight hundred passengers at Virgin Bay, who were eager to reach the gold fields of California, but to me it was a matter for rejoicing, since a few weeks' rest in Nicaragua would probably restore my wife to health before undertaking another long sea voyage. We remained at Virgin Bay nearly a month. My wife recovered, and we embarked at San Juan del Sud the first week in June. Reached San Francisco in fourteen days, where we had to stay near a fortnight in wait for the steamer which was to take us to the Columbia river. At the expiration of this time we set sail in the

steamer "Columbia," bound for Astoria, Oregon. Among the passengers were my Uncle John Adair and his oldest daughter, Capt. George B. McClellan, U. S. A., Major Larned, U. S. A., and several other officers of the army, besides two companies of the —— infantry. [I thintk the 4th.—E. A. A.] After passing the bar at the mouth of the Columbia a reckoning was taken between my wife and myself of the state of finances. It was ascertained that the sum total on hand was exactly one dollar! [Paper money would not pass on that coast.—E. A. A.] It would not pay for landing our trunks at Astoria, which place was then in sight and was our present destination. I threw the dollar into the raging Columbia and began to whistle to keep my courage up. An officer came on deck whom I had not seen at the table or elsewhere during the voyage. He inquired if Colonel Anderson was in the crowd. I replied and introduced myself to him. He made himself known as Lieut. Rufus Saxon, U. S. A., and said he had left New York on the steamer that came out a fortnight after I had left New Orleans, and that he had an official communication for me from the Secretary of the Interior, at the same time handing me a paper in a large official envelope. Taking it in my hand I began to deposit it in my coat pocket without breaking the seal, when he requested that I would open it and see whether he had brought it *and contents* safely to hand. On opening it I found it contained instructions for me as United States marshal to proceed at once to take a census of the inhabitants of the new Territory of Washington, and *also a Treasury draft for a thousand dollars*, to defray my expenses in the work! This was a piece of good fortune in the nick of time, for in two minutes more the steamer dropped her anchor off the city of Astoria, and soon we disembarked. My wife remained at the house of our uncle at Astoria and I started in a few days to Puget Sound to commence the official labors assigned me. I reached Olympia on the 4th of July and on the 5th started through the Territory to take the census. The only mode of travel then known in the country was by canoe with Indians as watermen or on foot. For two months I was constantly engaged in this way, frequently walking as much as twenty-five miles per day, and carrying my blanket, provisions, and papers on my back. My health was already robust and the work was a *pleasure*.

On completing the census, my wife accompanied me in a canoe, &c., up the Cowlitz river to Olympia, where the capital of the Territory was likely to be established and where I had determined to settle. At

first we rented a little house and then I bought one, in which we lived very happily and pleasantly during our stay in the Territory. In addition to the discharge of my duties as United States marshal I practiced law in the Territorial courts whenever the two duties did not conflict.

In 1855 I was nominated by the Democratic party of the Territory for the position of Delegate in the United States Congress. My competitor was Judge Strong, formerly United States district judge in Oregon. We began a thorough canvass of the whole Territory as soon as appointments for public speaking could be distributed among the people. I was successful at the election, which came off in June. Soon thereafter the report of gold discoveries near Fort Colville on the upper Columbia reached the settlements on Puget Sound, and several persons began preparations for a trip into that region. Not desiring to start for Washington city before October, in order to be in Washington on the first Monday in December, the meeting of the 34th Congress, to which I had been elected, I determined to go to Fort Colville to inform myself about the gold deposits of that and other unexplored regions of the Territory, the better to be able to lay its wants and resources before Congress and the people of the States. I started with seven other citizens of Olympia the latter part of June on horseback with pack animals to carry our provisions. Our route lay over the Cascade Mountains, through what was then called the Na-chess pass, across the Takama river and valley, striking the Columbia river at Priest's rapids, where we crossed it, and taking the Grande Contee to the mouth of the Spokan river, thence up the left bank of the Columbia by Fort Colville to the mouth of Clarke's Fork, where gold was reported to have been found, which we proved by experiment to be true. The trip from Olympia to the mouth of Clark's Fork, as thus described, occupied us about twenty-four days. Other parties followed us soon after. The Indians on the route became alarmed lest their country would be overrun with whites in search of gold and commenced hostilities by killing a man named Mattice, who was on his way to the mines from Olympia. A general Indian war was threatened. I had not been at the mines a week till Angus McDonald, of Fort Colville, sent an express to inform me of the condition of affairs between me and home. We were unarmed, except with two guns and one or two pistols in the party. Our provisions were being exhausted, and the appointed time for *my* return had arrived; so the miners concluded to return with me. To avoid the most hos-

tile tribe, led by the chief *Owhi*, we made a detour to the east in returning, crossed the Spokan about forty miles above its mouth, passed by the old Whitnan mission, crossed Snake river about ten or twenty miles above its mouth, took down the Pelouse to Walla-Walla, thence across the Umatilla near the mission and "Billy McKey's," crossing the Deo Shuttes at its mouth, then down to the Dalles, the Cascades, Fort Van Couver, and up the Cowlitz back to Olympia, which we reached in safety about the 1st of October.

During that month my wife and self took steamer for San Francisco, thence to Panama, Aspinwall and New York. We reached Washington city a few days before the meeting of Congress. This (34th) Congress will be long remembered as the one which gave rise to such a protracted and heated contest for speaker, to which position Mr. N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, was finally elected. This was the first triumph of importance of that fanatical party (now called Republican) which led to the disruption of the Union four years later. Before this struggle for speaker had been decided, and during the Christmas holidays, my wife and I repaired to Casa Bianca, Fla., by invitation of our aunt, Mrs. E. A. Beatty. While there I entered into an agreement with her for the conduct of her plantation under my supervision, &c. My wife remained at Casa Bianca and I returned to my duties in Washington city, only coming to Florida during the vacation.

My term of service in Congress expired the 4th of March, 1857. The same day Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated President for four years. He appointed me Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs of Washington Territory [the same positions had been tendered him by Mr. Pierce, which he had declined.—E. A. A.], but I did not accept, wishing to take my wife's advice on the subject. On consultation with her I determined not to return to Washington Territory, believing firmly that the days of the Union were already numbered, and not wishing to be absent from the land of my birth when her hour of trial came. I resigned the position tendered me by Mr. Buchanan and devoted myself exclusively to planting at Casa Bianca.

In 1860, when it became certain that Mr. Lincoln was elected President of the United States, the people of Florida, feeling alarmed for the safety of their rights and institutions, began to hold primary meetings preparatory to a general convention of the State. In December, 1860, I was elected a delegate from Jefferson county to a general convention of the State, which assembled at Tallahassee the

1st of January, 1861, and passed the ordinance of secession on the 10th day of the same month, which received my hearty approval. While the convention was yet in session the Governor deemed it prudent to seize such forts, ordnance and ordnance stores as he could, belonging to the United States within the limits of the State. For this purpose a force was sent to Pensacola to seize the navy yard, Forts Barancas, McBee and Pickens, to which all the United States troops then at Pensacola had now retired. At the request of the company, signified to me in Tallahassee while they were awaiting transportation to St. Mark's, I agreed to command them in this expedition. Another company under Captain Amaker from Tallahassee was also going on the same errand. We failed at St. Mark's to get steamboat transportation. Returned to Tallahassee and started overland by Quincy, Chattahoochie, &c. Captain Amaker's commission as captain was older than mine, but at his urgent request and that of Governor Perry I consented to assume the command of the *two* companies. Having marched to Chattahoochie arsenal we were stopped by a dispatch from Governor Perry directing us to remain there till further orders. In about a week it was decided by the officer in command of Florida troops at Pensacola not to attack Fort Pickens, and he accordingly dispatched Governor Perry to disband my detachment.

In the meantime the convention of Florida had determined to send delegates to a convention of such Southern States as had seceded from the Union, which was to meet in February at Montgomery, Ala. These de'egates from Florida were to be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the convention. Governor Perry dispatched me at Chattahoochie arsenal that he had appointed me one of the three delegates to this general convention, and directed me to return to Tallahassee with my two companies where they would be disbanded, which was done.

In February I repaired to Montgomery and took part in the proceedings of the convention, which formed a provisional government for the seceded States. All the principal measures of that body, passed or proposed during its first session and while I was a member, met my support. I was on the Committee of Military Affairs and favored the raising of troops, &c. I also proposed to have the cooks, nurses, teamsters and *pioneers* of our army to consist of slaves. After having adopted a provisional constitution and a provisional president, the convention or Congress adjourned about the first of March.

On the 26th of March, while near my home at Monticello, the Governor wrote me that he wished to send a regiment of infantry to Pensacola for Confederate service. My old company was immediately reorganized and on the 28th of March started for Chattahoochie arsenal, the place appointed for all the companies to rendezvous and elect field officers. On the 5th of April I was elected colonel of the 1st Florida regiment without opposition, and that night started with the regiment to report to General Bragg at Pensacola. We reached Pensacola on the 11th, and 12th of April went into camp and commenced drilling and exercising the troops. On the nights of the 7th–8th of October I commanded one of the detachments which made a descent upon the camp of Billy Wilson's Zouaves, under the guns of Fort Pickens, on Santa Rosa Island. The expedition consisted of about a thousand men divided into three detachments, respectively under Col. J. R. Jackson, 5th Georgia regiment; Col. James R. Chalmers, 9th Mississippi regiment, and myself. Chalmers had the right, Jackson the centre, and I the left; the whole under command of Brigadier-General R. H. Anderson, of South Carolina. My command consisted of 100 men from the 1st Florida, 100 men from the 1st Louisiana, and about 150 from the 1st Alabama, and other commands. My loss in this fight was eleven killed, twenty-four wounded and twelve captured. (I speak from memory.)

On the 10th of February, 1862, I was appointed a brigadier-general in the provisional army of Confederate States, and in March was ordered to report to General Bragg, then at Jackson in West Tennessee. Soon after reporting I was assigned to the command of a brigade of infantry in the division of Brigadier-General Ruggles, then at Corinth, Miss. This brigade consisted principally of Louisiana troops, to which the 1st Florida and 9th Texas regiments were soon after added. I was immediately ordered to the front of Corinth in the direction of Monterey and Pittsburg Landing.

At the battle of Shiloh my brigade consisted of the 17th, 19th and 20th Louisiana regiments, the 9th Texas, the 1st Florida, and Clack's Louisiana battalion, with the 5th Company of Washington Artillery of New Orleans.

Soon after the battle of Shiloh, Hindman was assigned to the command of Ruggle's division, but only exercised it a few days when he was ordered to Arkansas, and the command devolved upon me as senior brigadier. I commanded the division in the retreat from Corinth till we reached Clear Creek, near Baldwin, where I was taken ill with fever, and Major-General Sam Jones was assigned

to the division. I rejoined the division at Tupelo, Miss., where the army was reorganized, and I commanded a brigade in Sam Jones's division till we reached Chattanooga, Tenn., in August of that year, preparatory to the Kentucky campaign.

In August, 1862, while encamped near Chattanooga, the division was reorganized, and was composed of Walker's, Adams's, Anderson's, and Richard's brigades. About the middle of August Major-General Sam Jones was assigned to the command of the Department of East Tennessee and the command of the division devolved upon me. On the 1st of September I crossed Walden's ridge with my division, following Buckner's division—the two composing Hardee's Corps, Army of Tennessee. Throughout this campaign I continued in command of the division, having Brigadier-General Preston Smith's brigade of Cheatham's division added to it in the afternoon of the day of the battle of Perryville. We returned from Kentucky through Cumberland Gap, Knoxville, Chattanooga and Bridgeport to Allisonia, in Franklin county, Tenn., where my division was halted for a fortnight. During this time I visited for the first time in many years the grave of my father at Craggy Hope. From Allisonia the army proceeded to Shelbyville, where we halted ten days, and thence to Eagleville, where, in December, my division was broken up and I was assigned to the command of a brigade in Withers's division of Polk's corps. This brigade was the one formerly commanded by Brigadier-General Frank Gardner. I was only in command of it a few days when Rozecrans advanced upon Murfreesboro, where General Bragg determined to give him battle, and for this purpose took his line of battle on the 27th of December about a mile and a half from Murfreesboro on the Nashville and Wilkinson pikes.

The morning of the day on which the line was taken up I was transferred to the command temporarily of Walthall's brigade of Mississippians. This was in consequence of Walthall's sickness and because the brigade was composed entirely of troops (Mississippians) who had been under my command, either as brigade or division commander, since March, 1862. This brigade won many laurels in the battle of 31st of December and the 2d of January, 1863; was sent to reinforce Breckenridge on the right, who had been roughly handled that afternoon by superior numbers. We reached the scene of conflict about sundown, and after the heaviest fighting was over, in time, however, to have several officers and men of our skirmish line severely wounded; and, by interposing a fresh line between the vic

torious enemy and Breckenridge's shattered columns, gave time for the latter to rally and resume a line they had held in the morning.

This affair gave rise to much bitter feeling between General Bragg and Major-General Breckenridge, Bragg in his official report having animadverted very severely upon Breckenridge's conduct and having attributed more—I think—to my brigade than it was entitled to. On the other hand Breckenridge hardly did us justice, or rather *his friends*, who discussed the matter in the public prints did not give me due credit for our conduct or operations on that occasion. They rather contended that I reached the ground *after* the fight was over, and although we came with good intentions and doubtless would have rendered efficient services, if it had been necessary, yet there was nothing to be done after our arrival, &c. The facts are, however, as I have stated them here, and as I stated them in my official report on that occasion, a copy of which I sent to General Breckenridge, whereupon he wrote me a very complimentary note, characterizing the report as one that was "truthful and manly." [This note, with many valuable packages, including most of his Confederate correspondence and official reports in a handsome desk, were burned at St. Marks, Fla., while awaiting shipment. The warehouse was burned and they in it in 1869.—E. A. A.] I think General Bragg founded his report upon exaggerated statements of some partial friend of mine and hence attributed to more than I deserved. I allude to it here because both Bragg's and Breckenridge's statements may become matters of controversy and dispute hereafter.)

After the battle of Murfreesboro, during the illness and absence of Major-General Withers, I was in command of the division for over a month. In the meantime Brigadier-General Chalmers, who commanded a brigade of Mississippians in the division, was transferred to the cavalry service in Mississippi, and upon Withers resuming command of the division, I was assigned permanently to the command of Chalmers' brigade, which I exercised without interruption while the army was at Shelbyville, Tenn., and during our retreat from that place to Chattanooga, in June–July, 1863.

In July, 1863, I was sent with my brigade to hold the Tennessee river at Bridgeport and vicinity, while the balance of the army was at Chattanooga aad above there on the river. This duty was performed to the entire satistaction of General Bragg. In August Withers was transferred to duty in Alabama and Hindman was assigned to the command of the division. Shortly before evacuating Chattanooga my brigade was withdrawn from Bridgeport by order

of General Bragg and rejoined the division in the neighborhood of Chattanooga.

I commanded the division in the McLemore's Cove expedition in September—for which Hindman, who commanded the whole expedition, has received much censure. He certainly missed capturing eight or ten thousand of the enemy, which would have left the balance of Rosencranz's army at Bragg's mercy. Soon after this, or rather while in McLemore's Cove, Hindman was taken sick and the command of the division again devolved upon me.

On the night of the 19th of September, after the division had crossed the Chickamauga creek and while it was getting in position for next day's fight, Hindman resumed command and continued in command of the division till the close of the battle after dark on the night of the 20th. So I commanded my brigade in the battle of Chickamauga.

In the advance on Missionary Ridge, began on the 21st, I was in command of the division. Soon after reaching Missionary Ridge Hindman was placed in arrest by General Bragg and the command of the division devolved upon me. I commanded it at the battle of Missionary Ridge, but on that morning protested against the disposition which had been made of the troops (see my official report), which was the worst I have ever seen. The line was in two ranks, the front rank at the foot of the hill and the rear rank on the top ! ! And the men were over three feet apart in line ! Thus the front rank was not strong enough to hold its position, nor could it retire to the top of the ridge so as to be of any service to the line there. The consequence was that the troops made no fight at all, but broke and ran as soon as the enemy's overwhelming columns advanced. About the last of December Hindman was released from arrest and assumed command of the corps as senior major-general, and I remained in command of the division.

In February, 1864, Major-General Breckinridge having been transferred to a command in Southwestern Division, I was on the 9th day of February appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate a major-general in the provisional army and assigned to the command of Breckenridge's division in the Army of Tennessee. Before receiving these orders, however, I received a dispatch from the President ordering me to Florida to assume command of that district. The Army of Tennessee was at this time at Dalton, Ga., under command of General Joseph E. Johnston.

I reached Florida the 1st of March, 1864, ten days after the battle of Olustee, and assumed command of the district, with headquarters in the field in front of Jacksonville. Remained here operating against the enemy at Jacksonville and on the St. John's river all summer, until I was ordered back to the Army of Tennnessee. We were able to confine the enemy closely to his entrenchments around Jacksonville, and by blowing up two of his armed transports *above* Jacksonville and one *below*, put a complete stop to his navigation of the river above that city, and caused him to evacuate Palatka and to use the river below Jacksonville with the greatest caution.

On the night of the 25th of July, 1864, I received a telegram from General Bragg at Columbus, Ga., directing me to report to General Hood at Atlanta without delay for duty in the field. I started to Atlanta on the morning of the 26th of July and reached Atlanta on the night of the 28th. On the 29th I was assigned to and on the 30th assumed command of my old division composed of Deas', Brantley's, Sharp's and Manigault's brigades. I remained in command of these brigades until the even of the 31st of August, when I was wounded in the battle of Jonesboro, Ga., which compelled me to leave the field and has resulted in my absence from the army up to the present time.

There are many incidents connected with my experience which would interest my children if I had time to record them, but I have not. I have hurriedly written some of the prominent facts for their edification hereafter. This is a dark day in the history of the present war, but I believe a brighter will soon dawn upon us. If dissension and and faction does not distract us, we will certainly achieve our independence. The course of some prominent men in Georgia [Toombs and Governor Brown.—E. A. A.] just at this time is much calculated to grieve the spirit of all true Southerners. It is to be hoped that they will desist from their factions, teachings, and practices, and soon unite with the patriots of the land to prosecute with unanimity and vigor the war which our enemies are determined to wage against us.

PATTON ANDERSON.

MONTICELLO, FLA., *Feb. 28, 1865.*

General Anderson's Different Commands During the War.

Joined a company then being organized in Jefferson county, Fla., called "Jefferson Rifles," at Monticello, Fla., December 10, 1860; was elected captain and entered service of the State of Florida on the 11th of January, 1861.

Elected colonel of 1st Florida Regiment (infantry) March 26, 1861, and entered Confederate service same day.

Promoted brigadier-general P. A. C. S. February 10, 1862, and assigned to command of brigade composed of 1st Florida Regiment, 17th Alabama Regiment (Colonel Jos. Wheeler), 5th Mississippi (Colonel Fant), 8th Mississippi (Colonel Flint); ordered to Jackson, Tenn., March 20, 1862; thence to Corinth, Miss., and there assigned to command brigade about the 26th of March, composed of 1st Florida Battalion (6 companies, Lieutenant-Colonel McDonald), battalion "Confederate Guards Response" from Louisiana (Lieutenant-Colonel Clack), 17th Louisiana Regiment (Colonel Heard), 20th Louisiana Regiment (Colonel Richard), 9th Texas Regiment (Colonel Stanley). Commanded this brigade in the battle of Shiloh. Soon thereafter, on reorganization, was assigned to brigade composed of 41st Mississippi Regiment (Colonel W. F. Tucker), 36th Mississippi Regiment (Colonel Drury Brown), 37th Mississippi Regiment (Colonel Samuel Benton), 25th Louisiana Regiment (Colonel Fisk), 30th Mississippi Regiment (Colonel Neill), 5th company Washington Artillery.

1st of September, 1862, assigned to command of Major-General Sam Jones' division in Army of Tennessee at Chattanooga, and exercised same throughout General Bragg's Kentucky campaign. The division consisted of Brigadier-General Daniel Adams' Brigade, Brigadier-General Marsh Walker's Brigade, Brigadier-General John C. Brown's Brigade, and Colonel Thomas M. Jones' Brigade.

On 28th of December, 1862, assigned to command of Trapier's Brigade, composed of two South Carolina and two Alabama regiments — same had been commanded for some time by Colonel A. M. Manigault, 10th South Carolina Regiment.

On 30th of December assigned to command of Walthall's Brigade (Walthall sick and battle of Murfreesboro impending) composed of 29th Mississippi Regiment (Colonel Brantley), 27th Mississippi Regiment (Colonel Thomas M. Jones), 24th Mississippi Regiment (Colo

nel ——— ———), 30th Mississippi Regiment (Colonel Neill), and Barrett's Battery; 7th, 9th, 10th, 41st, 44th and 9th Battalions Sharpshooters at Shelbyville, Bridgeport, and Chickamauga.

From this time on was most of the time, as senior officer present, in command of Withers' and Hindman's divisions successively till February 9, 1864; was promoted to major-general P. A. C. S., and first assigned to command Breckinridge's division, Army of Tennessee, by order of War Department; but was soon thereafter sent to assume command of Confederate forces then operating in East Florida. On the 24th of July, 1864, was ordered back to Army of Tennessee, reaching General Hood's headquarters at Atlanta on the eve of the 28th; was that night re-assigned to command of Hindman's old division, composed of the following brigades: Brigadier-General W. F. Brantley's Mississippi brigade, Brigadier-General Z. C. Deas' Alabama brigade, Brigadier-General A. M. Manigault's South Carolina and Alabama brigades, and Brigadier-General Jacob Sharp's Mississippi brigade.

On the reorganization of the Army of Tennessee at Smithville, N. C., on the 8th of April, 1865, was assigned to command of a South Carolina division, composed of Colonel Harrison's brigade, Colonel Rhett's brigade, and Major Rhett's battalion of artillery.

My husband returned to the army in North Carolina in March, against the advice of his physicians. He was assigned to a new command from Charleston, and was surrendered with them, *without his consent*, at Bentonville. He did not believe the time had come to give up. These noble men, though having been under him so short a time, told him they would follow him anywhere, and to submit to no terms *he* thought dishonorable. Those *above* him knew his sentiments and signed the terms of surrender before he reached the place, though his *rank* gave *him* the right to be present in the caucus.

Etta A. Anderson.

[From the Richmond *Times*, June 14, 1896.]

LEE AND LONGSTREET.

Editor of the Times:

SIR,—I have read the review of General Longstreet's book, "From Manassas to Appomattox," by the London *Daily Telegraph*, with much interest. We naturally feel anxious about the conclusions of the impartial and unbiased foreign student of history concerning the events of the war between the States, and especially as to his estimate of the leaders on the Southern side. This review, however, apppears to me to have been suggested by some one nearer home; and, as I read between the lines, I fancy that I hear the partisan here prompting the reviewer over there. Who on the other side of the Atlantic could claim to be so well informed of public sentiment in Virginia during the eventful years of 1862 and 1863 as to be able to assert that "controversy raged high in Richmond between the followers of Lee and Johnston as to their relative merit," which is a great exaggeration, or to say that "Longstreet was distinctly of opinion that General Johnston, as a soldier, was General Lee's superior?" Where is the authority for this latter assertion? General Longstreet had served under General Johnston up to the battle of Seven Pines, and after that under General Lee; he had been in position to form his own estimate of the ability of each of these great commanders, and no doubt had his own views of their relative merit; but I do not believe that he ever during the war said one word to justify the conclusion of the London *Telegraph*. Read what General Longstreet wrote to General Lee on the eve of his departure for Tennessee in the fall of 1863. Under date of September 12th he wrote:

"If I did not think our move a necessary one, my regrets at leaving you would be distressing to me, as it seems to be with the officers and men of my command. Believing it to be necessary, I hope to accept it and my other personal inconveniences cheerfully and hopefully. All that we have to be proud of has been accomplished under your eye and under your orders. Our affections for you are stronger, if it is possible for them to be stronger, than our admiration for you."

Does that read as if General Longstreet was but a lukewarm, re-

luctant follower of General Lee? Is there anything in the earnest and undoubtedly honest sentiments here expressed to confirm the conclusion of the London *Telegraph* that it is "impossible to read General Longstreet's able book without perceiving that he, who knew General Lee better than any other man who fought under him or against him, was distinctly of opinion that General Johnston, as a soldier, was his superior." Be it remembered, too, that this letter from General Longstreet to General Lee was written after the Gettysburg campaign, and the glowing words of admiration and affection employed in giving expression to the recognition of the fact that all the glory of his command was directly due to the ability of his commander are utterly irreconcilable with many statements alleged to have been made by General Longstreet touching the invasion of Pennsylvania by General Lee in 1863. General Longstreet could not claim to have entertained the views and sentiments now attributed to him when he penned the letter of September 12, 1863, without branding himself as a disingenuous flatterer and time-server. When he discussed with General Lee the line of action most advisable to be pursued in the fall of 1863, although rather more disposed to favor the reinforcement of our army in the West for aggressive movements, while the Army of Northern Virginia should take the defensive, nevertheless, he went so far as to suggest another invasion by General Lee of the enemy's country. In a letter to General Lee, under date September 2, 1863, he wrote, "I do not know that we can reasonably hope to accomplish much here by offensive operations unless you are strong enough to cross the Potomac." With such decided views as he is said to entertain now concerning the Gettysburg campaign, it is impossible to understand the suggestion made so soon thereafter as to a repetition of the invasion of the country beyond the Potomac.

In speaking of General Longstreet's operations about Knoxville in November, 1863, the London *Telegraph* refers to the mistake then made by him when, "from a misconception, he stopped the assaulting column, which he now knows would infallibly have carried Knoxville by storm." Clearly the reviewer here charges General Longstreet, by implication at least, with the lack of that aggressive and, perhaps, audacious quality, which he subsequently condemns in General Lee. The recognition of this lack of aggressiveness or boldness in General Longstreet is, perhaps, the key to the statement of the *Telegraph* that General Johnston, who excelled in defensive tactics, was, in the estimation of General Longstreet, superior as a soldier to General Lee, and prepares us for that disapproval

on the part of General Longstreet of the aggressive tactics so often pursued by General Lee, which the *Telegraph* discovers in his book, and to which it gives expression as follows: "Yet, we think all readers of this book will admit that, considering the inequality of strength brought into the field by the two belligerents, and of the vast superiority of the North, General Lee was far too fond of fighting. Many extracts might be made from it to show that such is the undoubted opinion of its author."

Perhaps so. Unquestionably this opinion was shared by Generals McClellan, Pope, Burnside, Hooker, Meade, and Grant, of the Federal Army of the Potomac.

Now, there is the gist of the London *Telegraph's* version of General Longstreet's criticism of General Lee. Our old chief was too fond of fighting. Well, who else is there in the Army of Northern Virginia who cannot pardon him for that weakness in consideration of the very brilliant results that almost invariably attended his exhibitions of pugnacity? In war it is said that nothing succeeds like success. In General Lee's career his success would seem to attest the good qualities of his generalship, including his tendency to assail his opponents. It was in attestation of his admiration for General Lee's fondness for successful fighting, and in recognition of the brilliant achievements won by his corps in fighting under General Lee's command, that General Longstreet wrote, "All that we have to be proud of has been accomplished under your eye and under your orders." The truth is that General Lee was not a wild and reckless fighter, but a discreet and judicious one. When the time arrived to strike he did not hesitate, but gave the blow with force and confidence.

The *Telegraph* devotes much space to the consideration of General Longstreet's account of the battle of Gettysburg. As is well known, most of the controversy that has occurred since the war between the admirers of General Lee and General Longstreet and his followers has been in regard to the incidents of that campaign. In the discussion of those events intense feeling, and at times even bitterness, has been manifested by both sides; and some of the charges and counter charges made are alike irreconcilable with the general trend of affairs and the unquestionable ability and admitted excellence of each of these great soldiers. Had General Lee lived he would unhesitatingly have accepted his fair share of responsibility for the lack of final success at Gettysburg; but his readiness to assume all blame for failure, even though his lieutenants had failed to do what he had a right to expect

of them in the way of co-operation, is in striking contrast to the statement of General Longstreet, as set forth by the *Telegraph*, that "President Davis, Mr. Seddon, and nearly every officer of rank serving under Lee, were opposed to invading the enemy's country, especially after the failure of the Sharpsburg campaign.(?) * * * Yet not a voice was raised against this fatal march, except by General Longstreet when he rejoined General Lee after the battle of Chancellorsville. The two were alone together and what passed between them is now made known for the first time." This is indeed a revelation to those of us who were near General Lee, and such bald assertions will not be accepted by those who impartially study the subject with a sincere desire to reach the truth. Indeed, in the light of such assertions made so long after the occurrences and without contemporaneous corroborative testimony, I have been forcibly led to the conclusion that in this book it is not always General Longstreet who speaks. Read what he says when discussing the events of the second day at Gettysburg, page 382: "Colonel Taylor says, 'That General Lee urged that the march of my troops should be hastened, and was chafed at their non-appearance.' Not one word did he utter to me of their march until he gave his orders at 11 o'clock for the move to his right. Orders for the troops to hasten their march of the first were sent without even a suggestion from him, but upon his announcement that he intended to fight the next day, if the enemy was there. That he was excited and off his balance was evident on the afternoon of the first, and he labored under that oppression until enough blood was shed to appease him." How terribly sanguinary this makes General Lee appear! Is it really the utterance of General Longstreet? Then he has greatly changed in his sentiment towards General Lee since I knew him during the war. What a groundless, monstrous charge this is! Think of it, all ye gallant survivors of the Army of Northern Virginia, your old commander depicted to the world as an insatiate, cruel and blood-thirsty monster! Such a charge as that can do him no permanent harm and will but recoil with crushing force on him who made or approved it.

Now, as to the movements of General Longstreet on the 1st and 2d July, at Gettysburg, to which he refers in the quotation last made from his book, may we not ask what more urgent request he could have expected from General Lee that he should hasten to join him than is embraced in his own statement that "orders for the troops to hasten their march of the 1st were sent without even a suggestion from him (General Lee), but upon his announcement that he in-

tended to fight the next day, if the enemy was there?" The greater portion of the two corps of Generals A. P. Hill and Ewell had been hotly engaged during the 1st July, with about an equal force of the enemy; the result was a great victory for General Lee's troops, and the enemy had been driven back some distance through the town of Gettysburg, to the heights beyond. It was of the first importance to follow up this success promptly. General Longstreet, with two of his divisions, camped at a point but four miles distant on the night of the 1st. He was made aware of what had occurred; he had received orders to hasten the march of his troops with "the announcement that General Lee intended to fight the next day, if the enemy was there." When should he and his two divisions have reported to General Lee for orders? At what hour on the morning of the 2d could General Lee have reasonably expected him? At what hour would General Jackson have saluted General Lee and pointed to his divisions just behind him? I have claimed, and still contend, that General Longstreet was fairly chargeable with tardiness on that occasion. He was fully aware of the importance of joining General Lee at the earliest possible moment. In a letter to me under date of May 31, 1875, he wrote: "An order was given, as soon as the fight of the first day was over, for General Ewell to attack, or rather prepare to attack, at daylight in his front, but was almost immediately changed so as to allow time for me to reach the field and make a co-operative attack upon or by our right."

It is useless to discuss here how different the result might have been had General Longstreet moved his two divisions to the front at dawn of day on the 2d. The only question I propose to consider now is, at what hour did the troops of General Longstreet reach General Lee? For, as will be shown later, there appears to be a contradiction in General Longstreet's own statements about this.

In his book, page 362, General Longstreet says: "The stars were shining brightly on the morning of the 2d, when I reported at General Lee's headquarters and asked for orders. After a time Generals McLaws and Hood, with their staffs, rode up, and at sunrise their commands filed off the road to the right and rested."

Sunrise in that locality and at that date is about 4:35 o'clock A. M. General McLaws, in speaking of the movements of his division on that occasion, says: "My division camped at Willoughby Run, about four miles from Gettysburg, on the night of July 1st, about 12 o'clock, perhaps it was later. While there I received an order to move on at 4 A. M. of 2d; but that order was countermanded, and I

was directed to move early. Not long after sunrise I moved forward, and before 8 A. M. the head of my division reached Seminary Ridge, where General Lee was in person." But I propose to put General Longstreet himself in evidence to contradict the statement just now quoted from his book. I have now in my possession an autograph letter from him, written from New Orleans on the 20th April, 1875, in which he wrote: "It occurs to me that if General Lee had any such idea as an attack at sunrise you must surely be advised of it. Right sure am I that such an order was never delivered to me, and it is not possible for me to believe that he ever entertained an idea that I was to attack at that hour. My two divisions, nor myself, did not reach General Lee until 8 A. M. on the 2nd, and if he had intended to attack at sunrise he surely would have expressed some surprise or made some allusion to his orders." The point here made by General Longstreet, is that he had received no order to attack at sunrise; nor had he such orders; but, as the matter is now presented, the defence is purely technical. He had been made to know full well the importance to General Lee for the presence of his troops at the front, and he failed to meet the occasion and have his command available for the very co-operation with General Ewell by an early attack by our right, of which he wrote in his letter of May 31, 1875.

In other words, had he placed his troops at General Lee's disposal at the proper time, it was unquestionably the purpose of the latter to have ordered an attack at sunrise or soon thereafter. His troops not being in position, of course the attack could not be made. The two statements made by General Longstreet as to the time that he reported with his divisions, cannot be reconciled. In 1875 when he wrote the letter from which I have quoted, he claims that neither he, nor his divisions reached General Lee until 8 o'clock A. M. In his book, published twenty years later, he claims that he reported at General Lee's headquarters before day, "the stars were shining brightly, and that his two divisions reached the front at sunrise," say at 4:35 A. M. The preponderance of contemporaneous evidences goes to prove that General Longstreet accurately described the facts in his letter of April, 1875; the "star-light" scene, with which chapter xxvii of his book opens is too finely drawn for "Old Pete," (rather early you know), and its accuracy is not visible to the naked eye.

The war record of General Longstreet was a brilliant one. That he should have made mistakes was but natural and inevitable; but

these did not serve to make his case an exception; and such was the story of his heroic achievements, they could not mar its brilliancy. It is much to be regretted that in the attempt to prove himself invariably right, he should have found it necessary to assail General Lee's motives, and defame his character while claiming for himself qualities as a soldier and leader superior to those possessed by his old commander.

Very respectfully yours,

WALTER H. TAYLOR.

[From the Richmond *Times*, August 23, 1896.]

GENERAL LEE TO THE REAR.

Col. W. L Goldsmith, of Mississippi, Witnessed Both Events.

GORDON BEGGING LEE TO RETIRE.

Captain Funkhouser's Graphic Description of the Georgia Soldier Persuading General Lee to go to the Rear, and then leading the Charge.

No other circumstance of the war has attracted more attention than the references to General Lee, when in the crisis between defeat and victory, he rode in front of soldiers, ready to lead them in the charge. An old circular comes from Texas with an account of an exhibition in which Lee is reported by the Galveston *News* in the picture, as follows: This heroic man, generally so calm and self-contained, flames like an archangel, above the wreck of war, and inspires all around him with his own elevated yet steadfast intention.

"GENERAL LEE TO THE REAR."

Colonel W. L. Goldsmith, Meridian, Miss., writes: The Texan in last *Confederate Veteran* is correct, and so were other writers who saw General Lee turned back. All are correct, but strange to say, no one gives dates. This would correct everything. I happened to witness both events. One occurred on the 6th of May, 1864, early in the morning when A. P. Hill was being withdrawn to place Longstreet's Corps in position, because of the severe fighting of

Hill's Corps on the 5th of May. The Federals, by a strange chance, attacked Hill's Corps while withdrawing, which was thrown into great confusion, and retreated fighting. Longstreet's column was just coming up. General R. E. Lee started to lead them into action, to check the wild rush of the Federals. Many of us heard the Texas soldier tell General Lee to go to the rear. I was in a few feet of General Lee for a long time that morning, while trying to rally the retreating Confederates. He was on Old Traveler.

GENERAL GORDON PLEADING.

The second occasion occurred just six days thereafter, early on the ever-memorable 12th of May, 1864, when Hancock, by night surprise, had captured the angle occupied by General Johnson, and captured nearly his entire division, with many pieces of artillery. General R. E. Lee again attempted to lead the fresh troops coming up to retake our lost works. I was there, and saw the gallant John B. Gordon remonstrating with General Lee to go to the rear, which he finally did, and Gordon led brigade after brigade against the enemy, my own included, and we recaptured the works in our front and held them all day, and until 10 P. M., when we were withdrawn to form the new line. I remember sending Captain Perry, of my regiment, back that awful 12th of May, 1864, to tell our artillery to elevate their guns, as their shells were exploding just over us, and killing my men. Captain Perry returned and said: "My God, they are Yankee batteries!" At this battle, the musketry rolled for twenty hours continuously. So you see, this matter, which seems to be in such great confusion, happened twice, and comrades write about each without giving dates, and hence the conflict. I commanded the Fourteenth Georgia Regiment, Thomas's Georgia Brigade, Wilcox's Division, and A. P. Hill's Corps, and saw both occurrences, and all writers nearly are correct.

Captain R. D. Funkhouser writes from Mauvertown, Va.: "The details of the 'Lee-to-the-rear' incident are given at the request of W. T. Gass, of Texas. The claims of Alabama and Texas are correct. Their account occurred on the 5th or 6th of May, 1864, at the Wilderness proper. The battle of Spotsylvania, or Horse-shoe, occurred on the 12th of May, fifteen or twenty miles distant.

I was first lieutenant of Company D, Forty-ninth Virginia Infantry (the famous Extra-Billy Smith's old regiment), up to the battle of Spotyslvania. After that I commanded my company, and was cap-

tured at Hare's Hill, or Fort Steadman, March 25, 1865, in front of Petersburg, along with one hundred and eleven officers, and nineteen hundred men. The Forty-ninth Virginia Regiment was in Gordon's Division, Jackson's old Corps, afterwards Early's and Gordon's successively.

GRANT'S "ON TO RICHMOND."

General Grant commenced his "on to Richmond" by crossing the Rapidan river, May 4, 1864, the terrible battles of the Wilderness, or Parker's Store, taking place on the 5th and 6th of May. Grant being worsted, he commenced his slide around, or flanking policy, only to find General Lee boldly confronting him on the heights at Spotsylvania, on the evening of Sunday, the 8th, after a tortuous march through the Wilderness, which was on fire, and burned up to the road on both sides, and in very warm weather, too. It had been evident that preparations were being made for a tremendous conflict, and it came. In the meantime, the famous horse-shoe and other earthworks were created, and a sortie was made by the enemy on the evening of the 10th, on a portion of our works, a little to the left of the toe of the horse-shoe, and it was carried, but speedily retaken, with considerable loss on both sides. On that day and the next, the 11th, our brigade, or division, was used as a supporting division, consequently we occupied a position in the rear. On the morning of the 12th, we were moved up to the front line, a little to the left of the toe of the horse-shoe, the latter being a thicket. Our position, a small open field, connected with another field a little farther to the rear by a narrow strip of land, like an isthmus. We were doubled upon, or supported, the Louisiana Brigade. I said to one of the Louisiana Tigers, "What's the matter here? You've had us waked up before day and brought out of our shelter into the rain." He replied: "We will have the Yankees over here directly to take breakfast with us."

A GALLANT OFFICER.

It was hardly dawn, and pouring down rain, when Hancock landed his 40,000 men against Johnson's Division, in the toe of the horse-shoe, when his 3,600 as brave men as the world ever saw, with its commander, who had won the sobriquet of "Bull" Johnson, were overpowered and captured. We, being immediately on their left, of course, the enemy were to pay their respects to us next. A gallant

officer sprang out of the ditch, and said: "Men, don't be scared; be steady, and follow me; I'll take you out." We had not gone more than two hundred yards before we were halted by Colonel A. S. Pendleton, who said to me: "Captain, stay here until I return," and started for General Ewell's headquarters in a gallop. My attention was called to a thicket, which we would either have to pass through or flank around through the little opening already described, and, to my horror, the Yankees were going up an old road at trail arms, and double-quick, to cut us off. I called Colonel Pendleton's attention to the Yankees. With a motion of his hand he directed us to flank around the thicket, which we did in a hurry, marching within fifty or seventy-five yards of the Yankees, who seemed to be forming to charge us. When we got around the thicket, and in the second field we came to a halt without any orders from anybody, and on looking around I saw General R. E. Lee, alone, I think, calmly sitting on his gray horse. I said to Captain J. B. Updike, "Here is General Lee." He joined me and others in saying: "General Lee to the rear."

"THESE ARE VIRGINIANS."

General Gordon then rode up, and said: "General Lee, these are Virginians; they have never failed to do their duty and they never will, but they don't want you to uselessly expose your life. You go to the rear, and they will follow me; won't you, boys?"

All echoed "Yes," when Sergeant Wm. A. Compton, who had volunteered at the age of seventeen (he is now sheriff of Warren county, Va.), took hold of the bridle of General Lee's horse, and led him back through the ranks of my company and regiment. General Gordon immediately spurred his horse into the thicket, saying: "Charge! Men, follow me!" and, in the language of John R. Thompson, the poet,

> "Like the waves of the sea
> That burst the dykes in the overflow,
> Madly the veterans burst on the foe."

Their ranks were torn, and their columns riven, the breastworks retaken, and the day was ours. General Lee was reported to have said: "The crisis had come. The army was cut in twain, and I was willing to risk all on the one issue." And he won.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, March 29, 1896.]

BATTLE OF SAILOR'S CREEK.

Recollections of One Who Participated in It.

A PART TAKEN BY HUNTER'S BRIGADE.

A Charge that was an Inspiring Sight.

NO FEAR OF THE CAVALRY.

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

Responding to your call of the 15th instant, I will give my own recollections of the battle of Sailor's Creek, which was fought on the 6th of April, 1865, just three days before the surrender at Appomattox. I was at that time captain of Company F, 8th Virginia Infantry, Hunton's Brigade, Pickett's Division. In this account I shall speak of this division in general, and of Hunton's Brigade in particular.

It should be borne in mind that our brigade was not involved in the disaster that befell the rest of our division at Five Forks on the 1st day of April. We had been left behind when Pickett was ordered to support Fitz. Lee at Five Forks, and were engaged in the battle of Gravely Run on the 31st of March, fighting Warren's Corps, and keeping him from reinforcing Sheridan. That day Pickett and Fitz. Lee drove Sheridan back to Dinwiddie Courthouse. But the next day the tables were turned, and Sheridan, reinforced by two corps of infantry, assailed Pickett on all sides and drove him, with heavy loss and in great confusion, from the field. The result was that when we rejoined him that evening our brigade was, perhaps, the larger half of the division. We had more men present for duty than all the other brigades put together.

The turning of our right was followed immediately by an assault upon our thin lines in front of Petersburg, and the long struggle for the defence of Richmond was over. Many were the sad hearts when the retreat began, but it never occurred to some of us that the end of the war was near at hand. We believed in the righteousness and in the ultimate success of our cause, and we viewed the retreat from

Richmond and Petersburg, not as an irretrievable disaster, but only as a prolongation of the war. We were falling back to an interior line behind the Staunton or Dan, where Lee and Johnston could unite their forces and turn first upon one and then upon another of the pursuing armies. This plan would doubtless have been carried out but for the inexcusable failure of our government at Richmond to have supplies at Amelia Courthouse on our line of retreat, as ordered by General Lee. The delay caused by the necessity of gathering supplies from the surrounding country was fatal to Lee's plans. The enemy gained on us, headed us off from Burkeville, and forced us to take the road to Farmville and Lynchburg.

FORCED THE BATTLE.

No fighting of any consequence occurred until the 6th of April, when Sheridan, by rapid marching on a parallel line, got ahead of our division, struck the road on which we were moving, captured a portion of our wagon train, and forced the battle of Sailor's Creek. We had been on the march most of the night, and our men were weary and hungry, having been subsisting for two days or more on parched corn. At the time the battle began we (our brigade) were resting on a hill, awaiting developments, as the enemy were pressing our rear guard. It was here that my brother John and Thompson Furr, of my company, who had gone foraging the night before, rejoined us, bringing with them a bucket of boiled eggs and some fried chicken and corn bread. They found an old darkie some distance from the road, who, in exchange for two good army blankets, gave them a good breakfast and also something for their comrades. It was timely relief, for we had not more than finished our breakfast when we were startled by the sound of pistol shots in our front. Looking up, we saw some ambulances and stragglers rushing down the opposite hill towards us, hotly pursued by Federal cavalry. The hill seemed to be covered with timber, and only a narrow valley lay between. Our men took in the situation at once, and sprang to their feet, eager for a tussle with Sheridan. I speak here of Hunton's Brigade, which was not in the battle of Five Forks. They felt that they were a match for the cavalry, and all along on the retreat they were hoping for a chance to wipe out the reproach of April 1st. The opportunity now presented itself, and without waiting for orders from General Hunton, who was in the rear, the head of the column (8th Virginia) started down the hill at a quickstep to meet the enemy,

and the enemy turned back to report. General Hunton soon rode up, and placing himself at the head of his brigade, led them down the hill, across a small stream, and up the opposite hill until we struck the woods. There we filed to the right, and formed in line of battle in the edge of the woods. Just in front of us was a narrow strip of cleared land covered with broom-sedge, and beyond that the woods began again and extended around to our right. Our left rested on the road on which we had been marching. We had scarcely gotten into position, with a line of skirmishers thrown out, before the cavalry appeared in heavy force in the woods opposite, and bore down upon us. They had gotten into the habit of riding over our infantry, and they evidently expected to ride over us. Our skirmishers emptied their muskets at them, and then dropped down into the thick broom-sedge to reload, while our main line fired over their heads at the advancing cavalry. The fire was too hot for them, and very few emerged from the woods.

ORDERED A CHARGE.

Seeing this, General Hunton ordered a charge. It was an inspiring sight to see those nearly half-starved men move with quick step across that narrow field and into the woods beyond, and drive Sheridan's brag cavalry back untill they had forced them out of the woods, across another field, and out of the road which they had captured. Having recovered the road, our line of battle was formed in the road, with the fence-rails thrown down and piled up on the side next to the enemy. The road-cut itself furnished us on the right the very best protection. There we took our stand, and kept the enemy at bay, in spite of the most desperate attempts on their part to drive us away, or to force us to surrender. An open field was in our immediate front, leading down to a long stretch of woods beyond. Over this field the cavalry charged time and again, now on horseback, now on foot; but each time they advanced, they recoiled before the well directed musketry fire that greeted them. In one of these charges about a dozen of their men dashed around Corse's Brigade on our left, and came charging down in the rear of our line, shooting and yelling like demons. It was their last charge. All of them were killed, one being knocked from his horse by one of our ambulance corps, and his head crushed with a stretcher. Thus the battle went on for some hours, untill the enemy ceased their assaults in front and began to overlap and threaten our right.

To prevent this General Terry was ordered to take position with his brigade on Hunton's right. He soon reported that the enemy were gathering in great numbers in the woods to turn his flank, and that he could not hold his position. General Hunton, being called to support Terry, said he would send his old regiment around there, and that they would hold the position. This movement placed our regiment on the extreme right of our line, and under the immediate command of General Terry. Our position was in the edge of the woods, where the enemy were gathering, and with the open field just behind us. We had been there only a short time when General Pickett ordered a retreat. It was now about the middle of the afternoon, perhaps later. During all these hours in which we had been holding the cavalry at bay, the Federal infantry and artillery had been coming up, and were now posted on the hill to our left and rear, where we were resting that morning when the battle began.

MEANT CERTAIN DESTRUCTION.

To remain where we were, meant certain destruction or capture. Our only hope was in retreat. General Terry placed himself at the head of our regiment, and led us out into the open fields, towards a point a short distance off, where the woods which we had just left approached nearest to the woods out of which we had driven the cavalry that morning. If I am not mistaken, Steuart's Brigade moved out at the same time ftom the left of our division, but we could not see for the woods. Hunton and Corse forming the centre of our line, still held the road. It was expected that they would follow us at the right time. As we were marching we had woods to our right and woods to our left. Passing through the opening between them, we emerged into a large field and saw General Pickett and staff moving out of the woods to our right. Off to our left about a thousand yards distant, we saw a lot of cavalry gathered about some burning wagons. Just in front of us, some six or seven hundred yards off, was a large and dense woods, extending we knew not not how far, offering us the safest, if not the only refuge. Towards that inviting forest we hastened at quick step, but in good order. Presently we heard firing and cheering in our rear, and looking back, we saw the Federal cavalry charging down in rear of Hunton and Corse and cutting off their retreat. Our situation was extremely critical. A large body of victorious cavalry was but a short distance behind us, and would soon be after us. To our left

the same cavalry were gathering about the burning wagons, evidently preparing for a charge. But so long as we kept in good order and showed no signs of panic or flight, they did nothing but cheer and fire at long range. The question which was uppermost in every man's mind was, "Can we reach yonder woods before the cavalry head us off?" I have always believed that the whole column could have done so, but for one circumstance. When we had gotten a little more than half way across the field, a servant brought General Terry his horse, which he mounted and rode off towards Pickett and staff, leaving our regiment and his own men under the command of their regimental officers. This had a demoralizing effect on Terry's men, who, seeing their general riding off, broke ranks and crowded more and more upon our regiment, which was in front under command of Major William N. Berkeley. This confusion in turn emboldened the cavalry to our left, for soon we heard the bugle sounding the charge, and saw them rushing towards the woods to head us off. Our men broke into a double quick, and then into a run. The head of our column reached the woods first, but before the hindmost could penetrate the forest, the cavalry were upon them.

WOULD HAVE TO SURRENDER.

After going about a hundred yards into the woods Major Berkeley stopped, saying that he could go no farther and would have to surrender. He had been shot through the ankle at Gettysburg, and was never afterwards able to endure much marching. At the beginning of this day's battle he had sent his horse to the rear, and was not so fortunate as General Terry to get it back in time to make his escape. Not being able to make a good run his safety was in surrender. He released us all from his authority, saying that if we did not wish to surrender we could go. There was an immediate scattering of the head of the regiment, some going down a ravine, and others bearing to the right. How many tried to escape I do not know. Only some twenty-five or thirty of our regiment succeeded. Among these were Captain John Gray, Lieutenant John T. James, Sergeant Thompson Furr, and Private James Van Horn. Captain Gray and myself kept close together. I had held on to my big navy revolver, and we did not mean to surrender to any one or two pursuers. Our escape was very narrow. Captain Bichsler was captured when we were in full view of him, not over fifty yards off, according to his statement, and he always wondered why the same fellows did

not catch Gray and myself, for they went right on in our direction. Twice, as the bullets whistled by us, we stopped to surrender, thinking that the cavalry was upon us, but seeing that they were occupied with stragglers in our rear we pressed on deeper into the forest. It was our first and last run. We were running, not from Federal cavalry, but from Federal prisons, which we knew were more to be dreaded than battle with Sheridan's men. It was nearly sundown when we came in sight of Mahone's Division, drawn up on the ridge which leads to the High Bridge, near Farmville. As we and other stragglers from that day's engagement appeared in sight a body of Confederate cavalry moved out to meet us, and to protect us from further pursuit. Crossing Sailor's creek on a little bridge we ascended the hill beyond, where Lee and Mahone were waiting and watching, and soon were in the bosom of what was left of the Army of Northern Virginia.

C. F. James,
Roanoke Female College, Farmville, Va.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, January 17, 1897.]

A DARING EXPLOIT.

The capture of the Steamer Saint Nicholas.

COMMODORE HOLLINS' ACCOUNT.

At 6 o'clock A. M., June 18, 1861, I left Baltimore on the Mary Washington, a steamboat running to the Patuxent. On landing at one of the landings on the river, I went to the plantation of Mr. S., where I suggested the idea (which originated entirely with myself), of seizing the Saint Nicholas, a boat running between Baltimore and Washington, and manning her with volunteers, and then to take the Pawnee, a United States steamer commanded by Yankee Ward, and which was a great annoyance to the boats on the Potomac. I was told that the plan could not be carried out, as there were so many Union men about; that it must be certainly discovered before it could be executed. Finding I could not act there, I crossed the Potomac in an open boat pulled by four negroes. On reaching the

Virginia side, I went to the residence of Dr. Howe (Hooe), about twenty miles from Fredricksburg. This place I reached at 1 A. M. This gentlemen was a perfect stranger to me, but he received me kindly, entertained me handsomely, he and his charming family so soon to be rendered houseless and homeless by the incendiary act of the vandal Captain Budd, of the United States gunboat, a name ever to be remembered, desecrated as the insulter of unprotected females, firing into barns and houses, and everything but what might have been expected of an officer or a gentleman.

The same day Dr. Howe (Hooe), chartered a buggy and drove me to Fredricksburg, where I arrived at six o'clock in the afternoon. On registering my name at the hotel, a gentleman, Mr. Chew, introduced himself to me, and insisted most kindly on taking me to his house, where he entertained me most handsomely and hospitably. Next morning I went to Richmond on the cars. I immediately proceeded to the Navy Department and reported myself to the Secretary, and at once received my commission as captain in the Confederate States navy. After getting my position and commission, I went into the Bureau of Details, where I met many of my old friends, who had also resigned—Barron, Maury, Lewis, Spotswood, and many others. In conversation in that office I suggested my plan of seizing the Saint Nicholas, and carrying out the scheme that had suggested itself to me at Colonel S——'s. I was told that the Secretary (Mr. Mallory) would not agree to the plan, but that the Governor (Letcher) would. I then remarked that I would obtain Mr. Mallory's permission to apply to the Governor. I walked into Mr. Mallory's room and asked his permission. He granted it, and I at once went straight to the Governor's. When I made my proposition, Governor Letcher, without a moments hesitation, acceded to the proposal, and gave me a draft for $1,000 to send North for arms and men, etc. He then and there introduced me to Colonel Thomas, of Maryland, alias Zarvona, as a person who could be trusted to go North to purchase arms, or transact other business. That same afternoon I started off for Point Lookout *via* Fredericksburg. After leaving Fredericksburg I met my two sons, who were on their way to Richmond; they joined me of course. That next evening we recrossed the Potomac to the Maryland side, St. Mary's county, where I went to the house of a friend and remained untill sundown, when I, my two sons, and five men started in a wagon in a pouring rain, a nasty, dirty night, for Point Lookout, where the Saint Nicholas had to stop on her way to Washington. About an hour after

our arrival at Point Lookout, the Saint Nicholas came to the wharf. After reaching the Maryland side I signed the draft and Colonel Thomas took the Patuxent boat and went on to Baltimore and Philadelphia to purchase the arms, etc. I directed him to get the arms and return down the bay in the Saint Nicholas, and get as many men to join him as he could. I also stated to him that I should join him at Point Lookout. At 12 midnight I went on board with my party; I saw Colonel Thomas dressed as a woman, to avoid suspicion, as he had high, large trunks such as milliners use; they contained arms and ammunition. I told Colonel Thomas to hold himself in readiness; as soon as we cleared the wharf we would take the steamer. In a few minutes we left the wharf and I soon made the appointed signal. The trunks were then opened, the men seized the arms; I took a musket, or rather a Sharp's rifle, and a pair of pistols, ran up to the wheelhouse, put my hand on the captain's shoulder, and told him I had captured his boat, and ordered him to take the boat over to Coan river, but he declined saying he was no pilot. I told him I knew he was a pilot, and that if he did not pilot me over, I would set fire to the Saint Nicholas and land all of my men in his boats, as I was determined she should not fall into the hands of the enemy. I have learned since that the captain became so uneasy, that another man piloted her over. About half an hour after my arrival at Coan river landing, a body of Confederate soldiers and sailors came down to assist me, the soldiers commanded by Captain Lewis. I then read the Baltimore morning papers and ascertained that Captain Ward had been killed while making an attack on Mathias Point, and all the gunboats had left the river and gone up the river to Washington to the funeral.

There were several passengers on board, but I landed them and gave permission to all who wished to return to Baltimore to do so. Few returned, as nearly all were on their way South; and although it was Sunday the ladies amused themselves by making Confederate flags out of the Yankee flags I had captured.

Finding there was no chance of capturing the Pawnee, and deeming it unsafe to remain where I was in a steamer without guns, I resolved to go up to Fredericksburg, and immediately ran out into the Chesapeake bay. I saw a fine brig; ran alongside of her; she proved to be the brig Monticello, from Rio, loaded with coffee, and bound for Baltimore. I merely captured her, taking the crew on board the Saint Nicholas, and leaving the captain and his wife on board, as I did not wish to terrify the lady, or render her uncomfort-

able I put Lieutenant Robert (D.) Minor on board, with orders to take the brig to Fredericksburg. The coffee, a full cargo, was a great treat to our "boys in gray," who were already beginning to endure some of the many privations that made them in later days, "truly an army of martyrs." In an hour or less, I captured a schooner from Boston, loaded with ice and bound for Washington. I placed an officer and prize crew on board, and dispatched her to Fredericksburg. The ice just got there in time, for the wounded and sick in the hospitals were suffering for the want of it; and the Yankee captain of the schooner attended the sale, and seeing the fine prices paid for the ice, he came to me and proposed that he should go to Boston, get another vessel loaded with ice, bring her down, and let me know precisely when to meet him, that I might capture him, take the vessel to Fredericksburg, sell the ice, and divide the proceeds. Would any one but a Yankee have been guilty of such rascality? He had a splendid flag of a 74, an ensign that he had borrowed from the navy-yard, Boston, to hoist on the occasion of Douglas's death, but of that same ensign a goodly number of secession flags were made. I next captured another vessel from Baltimore, loaded with coal, bound for Boston—a most fortunate prize, as I was on my last bucket of coal in the Saint Nicholas. I filled up as I went along, as I began to feel a little fearful that some of the gunboats might be after me, so we went up to Fredericksburg, I towing my prize. We reached there safely. The government bought the Saint Nicholas for about $45,000, and turned her into a gunboat. The coffee sold well, but as she was a Baltimore vessel, and owned by gentlemen of that city, the government ascertained the price of coffee in Baltimore and paid Messrs. Spence & Reid twelve cents a pound, and sold it at twenty-five or thirty cents in Richmond. The vessel was returned to the owners. I then went to Richmond, and was ordered to the command of fortifications on James river. After having been there for some time, and knowing I was not competent to build 'longshore fortifications, whatever other navy officers might have been, I applied for other duty more in the line of my profession, and was ordered to take command of the station at New Orleans, with the rank of commodore.

AN IMPORTANT DISPATCH.

FROM LIEUTENANT GENERAL N. B. FORREST.

Did it Determine the Fate of the Confederacy.

A dispatch, says the Washington *Star* of Jan. 15, 1897, written by the Confederate General Forrest, dated September 21, 1863, during the movements of troops about Chattanooga, has recently been brought to light. Much importance has been attached to this document, because of the opinion attributed to General Longstreet that it contained the instructions which determined the fate of the Confederacy. The dispatch is a brief one, dictated by General Forrest under most exciting conditions, signed by him, and addressed to General Polk, who was asked to forward it to General Bragg. At the time the message was written, General Forrest, it is said, was making observations high up in a tree on Missionary Ridge. He had been sweeping the great battle-field of Chickamauga with his glasses; he believed he saw evidences of an attempt on the part of General Rosencranz and his army to escape from the trap in which the Confederates supposed they had snared him, and in which they expected to capture him and his whole army. He, then, calling down from the tree, dictated the dispatch in question to his adjutant, who wrote it upon a sheet of dingy, blue paper, with a lead pencil, using an upturned saddle stirrup as a writing desk. This dispatch announced to General Polk, General Forrest's belief that the enemy were evacuating Chattanooga, and his opinion that the Confederate army ought to press forward as rapidly as possible.

WHAT BECAME OF THE DOCUMENT.

According to "Holland," the New York correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press*, the subsequent history of the dispatch was as follows:

"As soon as the dispatch was written, it was sent to General Polk, who, as requested, sent the information to General Bragg, who was the commanding officer. After this was done, General Polk put the dispatch in his dispatch box, and years after it was found by his son, Dr. Mechlenburg Polk, who is now a practicing physician in New York city. Knowing that Dr. John A. Wyeth was collecting

material for a life of General Forrest, in whose command Dr. Wyeth served when a mere lad, Dr. Polk loaned to Dr. Wyeth this dispatch.

"In some way the War department heard that Dr. Wyeth was in possession of this hitherto unsuspected document, and most urgently requested that it be committed to its care, as it was a dispatch of the utmost importance, and should therefore be kept in a place of permanent safety. Drs. Wyeth and Polk were of the opinion that the request should be granted, and sent the dispatch to the War Department, after having caused a fac-simile of it to be photographed.

"Recently Dr. Wyeth sent to General Longstreet a fac-simile of this dispatch, and it was this which brought from Longstreet a day or two ago, a letter of acknowledgment, in which he says: 'That dispatch fixed the fate of the Confederacy.' And he also added that with that as a guide, he should write a magazine article explaining why, in his view, this was the document which thus determined the Confederate cause.

EFFECT OF THE DISPATCH.

Concerning the effect of the dispatch, "Holland" says:

"It suggested to Bragg an opportunity to gratify a certain vanity and love of display, which was a conspicuous trait of his character. He saw that it gave him a chance, as he supposed, to march into and through Chattanooga, with all the pomp and ceremony of a conqueror. He, therefore, abandoned his plan, and undertook to pursue and destroy, instead of to head off and surround Rosencranz. General Longstreet says that the delay caused by this change of plan gave Rosencranz an opportunity to rally, swiftly to throw up entrenchments, and by reason of the firmness with which Thomas held his position—which caused that superb warrior to be called, 'The Rock of Chickamauga'—to maintain himself until relieved. Longstreet wondered why Bragg had abandoned his plan. Forrest and Polk could not understand the sudden change in Rosencranz's movements. They did not realise that the delay had given Rosencranz an opportunity such as he prayed he might secure, and of which he was quick to take advantage, and such advantage as in the opinion of the Confederates, saved his army. Longstreet could not have known of this dispatch of General Forrest's, or, if he did know of it, could have had no clear understanding of what was

in it, since the copy which was sent to him recently seems to have been the first that he ever saw. His friends have known that he has felt that the great moment for the Confederacy, its supreme hour, when its destiny was decided, was that moment when General Bragg abandoned his plan of attempting to cut off the retreat of Rosencranz. It may be that Longstreet knew that Bragg came to that determination because of information which he had received from Forrest. At all events, thirty-three years after this battle, General Longstreet, the survivor of all the able generals of the Confederate army, expresses the deliberate opinion that, 'this dispatch fixed the fate of the Confederacy.' In that opinion he does not agree with some of the other military leaders. Whether the military historians will agree with him or not, the fact remains that the discovery of this dispatch and Longstreet's opinion, that it contained the destiny of the Confederate States will be accepted as a most valuable contribution to the military history of the Civil War.

GENERAL BOYNTON'S COMMENTS.

A *Star* reporter brought the views attributed to General Longstreet, concerning the Forrest dispatch, to the attention of General H. V. Boynton, who, as a soldier, took conspicuous part in the Chattanooga campaign, and who is recognized as, perhaps, the best living authority on matters relating to the Army of the Cumberland.

General Boynton said:

"The dispatch of General Forrest, to which you call my attention, which has recently been produced by his biographers as one that fixed the fate of the Confederacy, through General Bragg's disregarding it, and which is, therefore, declared to be 'the crucial dispatch of the war,' is of no significance whatever, beyond showing the misapprehensions which existed in the Confederate army during the forenoon of September 21st, which was the day after the close of the battle of Chickamauga, concerning the position and movements of the Union army. This dispatch is as follows:

"On the Road, September 21, 1863.

"'General: We are in a mile of Rossville have been on the point of Missionary Ridge. Can see Chattanooga and everything around. The enemy's trains are leaving, going around the point of Lookout Mountain. The prisoners captured, report two pontoons thrown across for the purpose of retreating. I think they are evac-

uating as hard as they can go. They are cutting timber down to obstruct our passage. I think we ought to press forward as rapidly as possible.

"'Respectfully, etc.,

"'N. B. FORREST.

"'*Brigadier-General.*

"'To Lieutenant-General L. Polk.

"'(Please forward to General Bragg.)'

"At the time this dispatch was written the Union army was not at Chattanooga, but was in line, fully prepared for battle in Rossville Gap, and upon Missionary Ridge to the right and left of this gap, with one of its three corps extending across the valley, nearly to Lookout Mountain. It was, therefore, directly in General Forrest's front, and only a mile distant. The position it occupied could not have been carried by direct assault. The army trains were not passing around the point of Lookout Mountain, but were going into Chattanooga under direct orders from General Rosencranz. No pontoon was being thrown across the river for the purpose of retreating, and, by General Rosencranz's order, the one already in position was heavily guarded to prevent any soldier leaving the city. The timber being cut, was in Rossville Gap, to strengthen that position. General Forrest himself, did 'press forward,' with the result thus set forth in his official report:

ON MISSION RIDGE.

"'On taking possession of Mission Ridge, one mile or thereabouts from Rossville, we found the enemy fortifying the gap. Dismounted Colonel Dibbrell's regiment, under command of Captain McGinnis, and attacked them, but found the force too large to dislodge them. On the arrival of my artillery, opened on, and fought them for several hours, but could not move them.'

"General Forrest had two divisions, which habitually fought dismounted. While the Union army was in line at Rossville, five miles southeast of Chattanooga, General Rosencranz was in the city, sending out ammunition and provisions, and preparing to bring the army into Chattanooga, which was the objective of the campaign, and to hold it.

"Hon. Charles A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, then at Rosencranz's headquarters in the city, under the same date as this dispatch of General Forrest—namely, September 21st—thus telegraphed Secretary Stanton:

"'CHATTANOOGA, September 21st.

"'Rosencranz has issued orders for all our troops to be concentrated here to-night. Thomas will get in about eleven P. M., unless prevented by the enemy, who have been fighting him this afternoon, * * * There is no time to wait for reinforcements, and Rosencranz is determined not to abandon Chattanooga and Bridgeport without another effort. * * *

(Signed.) "'C. A. DANA.

WHAT BRAGG WOULD HAVE MET.

"Since General Bragg is so severely criticised for not pushing on it is interesting to inquire what he would have met had he followed General Forrest's advice.

"Rossville Gap, in Missionary Ridge, is a deep defile, a mile in length, through its highest crests, which, with its flanks on the ridge and in the valley fully protected, formed one of the strongest defensive military positions held by either army anywhere, throughout the war.

"During the closing hours of the battle of Chattanooga—that is during the afternoon of Sunday, September 20th—Rossville Gap was occupied in force by General Negley, with at least a division of those Union troops which had been forced from the Union right and centre, had passed to the rear through Missionary Ridge, and turning to the right, had taken possession of Rossville Gap, and so stood once more across the Lafayette road, which was Bragg's line of advance to Chattanooga. Not only this, but Sheridan's Division entire, had moved through the gap, and marching out three miles on the Lafayette road toward Bragg, and stood across the road, in close contact with General Bragg's left, at the time the battle ended. These troops had all recovered from the confusion, into which a portion of them had been thrown by the break at noon at Chickamauga.

"On the morning of September 21st, when Forrest moved up within a mile of the gap, to reconnoitre, and when he supposed that the Union army had reached Chattanooga, and was, 'evacuating as hard as they can go,' it was, as already stated, in position, formed, and ready for battle on such impregnable ground as above indicated.

"General Thomas's report tells how his army was here disposed for battle, at the very time General Forrest, in close proximity to these lines, concealed by the forests, was writing his dispatch to General Polk. After initiating and superintending the movement

by which he withdrew his forces from the Kelley field line, to be followed with those from Snodgrass Hill, for the purpose of passing them through McFarlan's Gap, in Missionary Ridge, around Bragg's right, and placing them in Rossville Gap, between Bragg and Chattanooga, General Thomas says:

"I then proceeded to Rossville, accompanied by Generals Garfield and Gordon Granger, and immediately prepared to place the troops in position at that point. One brigade of Negley's Division was posted in the gap on the Ringgold road, and two brigades on the top of the ridge to the right of the road, adjoining the brigade in the road; Reynold's Division on the right of Negley's, and reaching to the Dry Valley road; Brannon's Division in the rear of Reynolds's right, as a reserve; McCook's Corps on the right of the Dry Valley road, and stretching toward the west, his right reaching nearly to Chattanooga creek; Crittenden's entire corps was posted on the heights to the left of Ringgold road, with Steadman's Division of Granger's Corps in reserve behind his left; Baird's Division in reserve and in supporting distance of the brigade in the gap; McCook's Brigade of Granger's Corps, was posted as a reserve to the brigade of Negley's on the top of the ridge, to the right of the road; Minty's cavalry was on the Ringgold road, about a mile and a half in advance of the gap."

NO CHANCE FOR BRAGG.

"With practically the entire Army of the Cumberland rested, and thus skilfully posted in a strong position, with sufficient rations and ammunition, and with its right guarded on front and flank by Wilder's mounted infantry, and three brigades of cavalry, with Speer's Infantry Brigade as a support to these, and all, as General Thomas telegraphed, 'in high spirits,' it is not difficult to see what would have happened if Bragg, even with his seasoned and magnificent veterans, had followed Forrest's advice, to 'press forward as rapidly as possible.'

"That General Bragg was better informed than General Forrest, is sufficiently shown by the fact that at the very time Forrest was sending the dispatch quoted, General Bragg was telegraphing Adjutant-General Cooper, at Richmond, as follows:

CHICKAMAUGA RIVER, September 21, 1863.

"'General S. Cooper:

After two days hard fighting we have driven the enemy, after a

desperate resistance, from several positions, but he still confronts us. * * *

"'(Signed) BRAXTON BRAGG.'

"Of course, this advanced position at Rossville was not one for occupation, and during the night of the 21st, Thomas moved his army to Chattanooga—the objective of Rosencranz's most remarkable campaign.

"What is here said is intended to apply solely to the question of accuracy in General Forrest's dispatch, and not to the question between General Longstreet and General Bragg, to which it is scarcely applicable. The dispatch of General Forrest, which relates to that controversy, is one of a later date."

SKETCH OF COMPANY I, 61st VIRGINIA INFANTRY, MAHONE'S BRIGADE, C. S. A.

[Furnished for publication by the son of Major Charles R. McAlpine, Mr. Newton McAlpine, Portsmouth, Va.—ED.]

The Rebel Grays were organized June 16, 1861, at the Glebe School-house, Norfolk county, Virginia. Number of men, 63.

In August the company was, as Company G, assigned to the 41st Regiment of Virginia Infantry, under the command of Colonel John R. Chambliss, stationed at Ferry Point (now Berkeley). In September, 1861, it was ordered with the regiment to Sewell's Point.

In April, 1862, the army was reorganized, and at that and other times there was assigned to this company 39 members, increasing the number to 102. Volunteers, 76; conscripts, 22, and substitutes, 4. From Norfolk county, 68; Portsmouth city, 23; Norfolk city, 2; Suffolk, 3; unknown, 3; Petersburg, 1; Greensville county, 1, and Gates county, N. C., 1. Total number of deserters, 35. Deserted at the evacuation of Norfolk in May, 1862, 25; died in hospital, 3; discharged, 3; transferred, 1; dropped at reorganization, 1; left in hospital, 2; who offered substitutes, 4—40; which left for the field in May, 1862, an effective force of 62 men.

On April 29, 1862, the company was detached from the 41st Regiment of Virginia Infantry, and ordered to report to Lieutenant-Colonel Archer, at Boykin's, near Smithfield, and guard the Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad. There it remained until May 27, 1862.

May 27, 1862, it was ordered to report to Major Jones' Battery, No. 3, near Richmond, Va., as a reserve to sustain our forces in the event of need at the battle of Seven Pines, &c.

June 14th, it was ordered to Battery 10, near Richmond.

July 15th, it was ordered to report to Brigadier-General John H. Winder, to do guard duty at Libby Prison, Richmond, Va.

July 14th, it was assigned to the 61st Regiment of Virginia Infantry, under command of Colonel Samuel M. Wilson.

July 20th, it was ordered by Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. Neimeyer, 61st Virginia Infantry, to report to the headquarters at Dunn's Hill, and was designated Company I in the regiment. About this time Cohoon's Battalion of Virginia Volunteers was disbanded, and the men of conscript age in Captain Max Herbert's command were assigned to the company.

By command of Brigadier-General S. G. French, dated August 28, 1862, all men in Captain McAlpine's Company, formerly of Captain Herbert's Company, Lieutenant-Colonel Cohoon's Battalion, will be promptly returned to Captain Herbert.

The last of August, 1862, the company was ordered to Brook Turnpike, near Richmond, and in September to Rapidan River, Orange and Alexander Railroad, and there performed fatigue duty at Bristoe Station, some distance up the road, in the removal of burnt cars, &c. It thus saved an immense amount of property.

On September 29, 1862, the enemy advanced, and a part of our regiment, comprising about 200 men, gave them battle and repulsed them. This was at Catlett Station, Orange and Alexandria Railroad. The strength of the company was 59; present for duty, 47; absent, sick, 7; absent on leave, 1; absent on detail, 4; total 59.

Lieutenant-Colonel William F. Neimeyer at this time ordered the sick from Washington Hospital, about 1,500 in number, to Richmond. Also about this time Colonel V. D. Groner took command as Colonel of the 61st Virginia Infantry, Colonel Samuel M. Wilson having resigned. The regiment proceeded to Fredericksburg as the advance guard of General Lee's army, previous to the battle of Fredericksburg. We were there assigned to General William Mahone's Brigade, and became identified with that command thereafter.

At the battle of Fredericksburg, December 11, 12 and 13, 1862, the strength of the company was 58; present, 44; absent, sick, 10; absent on detail, 4.

Immediately after the battle of Fredericksburg we were encamped

near Salem Church (three and a half miles from Fredericksburg) on the Plank Road, and there remained until January, 1863, when the brigade was ordered to protect the fords on the Rappahannock and Rapidan rivers, near Chancellorsville.

April 28th, the enemy advanced and crossed the upper ford on the Rappahannock, and we were ordered to fall back, and were placed in line of battle at Zoah Church on the Plank Road. At the battle of Zoah Church, near Chancellorsville, April 30, 1863, the strength of company was 58; present, 47; absent, sick, 4; absent on leave, 1; absent on detail, 6.

We advanced, and on May 1, 1863, were placed in line of battle at McCarthy's farm. Strength of company, 58; present, 46; absent on leave, 1; absent, sick, 4; absent on detail, 7; conspicuous for gallantry, 5. Advanced, and on May 2d and 3d were engaged in the battle of Chancellorsville. Strength of company, 58; present, 45; absent, sick, 5; absent on detail, 7; absent on leave, 1.

After the retreat of Hooker's forces, May 3, 1863, at Chancellorsville, we returned toward Fredericksburg, and encountered Sedgewick's Corps near Salem Church. Our regiment acted as the skirmish line for our brigade, our company being held in reserve. In the meantime our brigade was moved to the left of the line, and Sims' Georgia Brigade placed in the position of Mahone's men. The enemy advancing, we were ordered to fall back to our line. Sims' men not being apprised that we were on the skirmish line, opened fire on us, and we were thus between two lines of battle. Strength of company at Salem Church, 58; present, 45; absent, sick, 6; absent on detail, 7; wounded, 2; conspicuous for gallantry, 2. Lieutenant C. W. Murdaugh was seriously wounded, and too much cannot be said of his gallantry on this occasion in encouraging the men and urging them to perform their duty. Lieutenant Murdaugh was ever after unfit for duty. (See Order 283, Adjutant and Inspector-General's office.) Sergeant Charles Evans, a gallant soldier, was also wounded. We can never forget the kind treatment we received at the hands of the ladies of Martinsburg.

Battle of Gettysburg July 3, 1863. Strength of company, 57; present, 42; absent on detail, 6; absent, sick, 8; absent, wounded, 1.

In the memorable charge at Gettysburg, July 4, 1863. Strength of company, 55; present, 40; absent, sick, 8; absent, wounded, 1; absent on detail, 6; wounded, 3; killed, 1; captured, 2; deserted, 5; conspicuous for gallantry, 6.

SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC LIBRARY

In September we were ordered to encamp near Clarke's Mountain, and remained there until October 8th.

At Bristoe Station, Orange and Alexander Railroad, October 14, 1863. Strength of company, 45; present, 31; absent, sick, 3; absent on detail, 7; absent on leave, 1; captured, 2.

Returned to Clark's Mountain, and remained there until we advanced towards the Wilderness and engaged the enemy at Mine Run December 2, 1863. Strength of company, 45; present, 32; absent, sick, 2; absent, wounded, 1; absent on detail, 8; captured, 2. Returned to camp on Bell's farm, Orange county, and there remained until January, 1864. January 5th, advanced towards the Wilderness. On 6th May, 1864, we were placed in line of battle, and advanced on the enemy. The Yankee General Wardsworth was killed in front of our line. Lieutenant-General Longstreet was wounded, and General Jenkins, of South Carolina, was killed, both in front of our line by our troops. So much for bad generalship.

Battle of the Wilderness, May 6, 1864. Strength of company, 45; present, 36; absent, sick, 2; wounded, 1; detailed, 7; captured, 1; on leave, 1; conspicuous for gallantry, 3; wounded, 1. It was in this battle that the gallant and faithful soldier, Elvin K. Casey, lost his arm.

On our march towards Spotsylvania Courthouse, Sunday, May 8th, we were assailed near a place called Shady Grove, and after a brief delay, repulsed the enemy. We moved on, and bivouacked only a short distance in advance of the scene of that conflict.

Battle of Shady Grove, Sunday, May 8, 1864. Strength of company, 45; present, 33; absent, sick, 2; absent, wounded, 1; detailed, 1; captured, 1; on leave, 1; wounded, 1; conspicuous for gallantry, 1.

On the morning of May 9th we reached the field of the approaching battle, and being placed in line, proceeded rapidly to cover our front with a line of field works. On the 12th we engaged the enemy at Spotsylvania Courthouse.

Battle of Spotsylvania Courthouse. Strength of company, 44; present, 31; sick, 2; wounded, 1; detailed, 7; captured, 1; on leave, 1; wounded, 2; mortally wounded, 1; conspicuous for gallantry, 5. William F. Butt, a good man and reliable soldier, was mortally wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel William F. Neimeyer was killed, which promoted Captain McAlpine and Lieutenant John Hobday, the one as major and the other as captain. The conspicuous gallantry of private Albert Powell deserves much praise. Our regiment in this battle charged three lines of field works and captured each.

We remained at Spotsylvania Courthouse until the 22d of May, when we took up our line of march, and on 23d crossed the North Anna river; taking our place in line, we rapidly covered our front with field works. May 27th, crossed the South Anna and entered Hanover county.

May 28 and 29, 1864, battle of Hanover county. Strength of company, 43; present, 28; sick, 3; wounded, 3; detailed, 7; captured, 2.

June 2nd and 3rd, battle of Cold Harbor. Strength of company, 43; present, 28; sick, 3; wounded, 3; detail, 7; captured, 2; wounded, 2.

June 13, 1864; left Turkey Ridge, crossed the Chickahominy and were placed in line on Frazier's farm. Battle of Frazier's Farm, June 13, 1864. Strength of company, 43; present, 26; sick, 3, wounded, 5; detail, 7; captured, 2; wounded, 1. Remained on Frazier's farm untill the 18th, when we crossed the James on pontoons, and bivouacked near Petersburg.

June 22, 1864; we engaged the enemy near Wilcox's farm, and our Brigade captured 2,000 prisoners, 1,500 stand of arms, 4 Blakley guns and 8 stands of colors. Strength of company, 43; present, 21; sick, 7; wounded, 5; detail, 7; on leave, 1; captured, 2; conspicious for gallantry, 5.

The gallantry of Captain John Hobday on this occasion was conspicuous, and although his services were not duly appreciated, yet, it was through his sagacity that the enemy were flanked and defeated. With his small command of 21 men, he passed down the enemy's line, a distance of 200 yards, and demanded their surrender. Yet notwithstanding the neglect of his merit, never did his zeal falter, his love cool, nor the feverish impatience of his fiery spirit rebel. In his darkest hour it was his pride to know, that he merited honor if he did not receive it.

It was through the courage and gallantry of Charles N. Collins, that Major Charles R. McAlpines life was saved, by killing the Federal officer who would have shot the Major.

That night we were ordered to return to camp near Petersburg, and there remain untill the next day.

June 23, 1864; Battle of Gurley house. Strength of company, 43; present, 18; sick, 8; wounded, 5; detail, 7; on leave, 1; captured, 2; under arrest, 2. Two men had deserted, leaving the strength of company 41. Returned to camp near Wilcox farm and remained there until July 30, 1864.

Battle of the Crater, July 30, 1864. Strength of company, 41; present, 22; sick, 6; wounded, 4; detail, 6; captured, 1; under arrest, 2; killed, 2; wounded, 3, conspicuous for gallantry, 2. Returned to company by the Medical Examining Board, 1 Returned to camp and remained there untill August 19th, when we were ordered to advance and engage the enemy near Johnson's farm, three miles from Petersburg. The 61st Regiment had engaged 150 muskets, 15 ambulance men and 19 officers. The Regiment had killed, 7; wounded, 55; missing, 14; total 76. Strength of company, 38; present, 17; sick, 7.; wounded, 5; detail, 6; captured, 1; under arrest; 2. Killed, 1; wounded, 1; captured, 5; conspicuous for gallantry, 1.

August 21, 1864. All the ambulance men, quarter-master's men, sick, wounded, cooks, &c., of the Regiment, were armed and placed in the trenches to protect Petersburg from an attack.

August 24, 1864, took up line of march and proceeded to the rail road, and bivouacked on Armstrong's farm. August 25, engaged the enemy near Reams' Station, on the Petersburg and Weldon Railroad.

Battle Reams' Station, August 25. Strength of company, 37; present, 13; sick, 6; wounded, 4; captured, 6; detail, 6; under arrest, 2.

August, 26, 1864, returned to camp and remained untill October 26, 1864, when we took up the line of march and proceeded to the Plank Road to Buggles mill, and engaged the enemy on the 27th instant.

Battle Burgess' Mill, strength of company, 38; present, 20; sick, 4; wounded, 1; captured, 6; detail, 4; on leave, 2; under arrest, 1; conspicuous for gallantry, 1; killed, 1; wounded, 1; captured, 3; deserted, 1; returned by Medical Examining Board, 1. Captain John Hobday was killed, which promoted Lt. C. W. Murdaugh to Captain.

After a five days tramp on a total ration of 2½ pounds of meal, we arrived in camp 1st November, 1864. Went into winter quarters December 7, 1864, and remained inactive untill February 5, 1865.

February 6, 1865, Battle of Hatcher's Run. Strength of company, 35; present, 14; absent, sick, 6; captured, 10; detail, 3; on leave, 2.

The fight between Petersburg and Appomattox.

ROSTER OF COMPANY I, 61ST REGIMENT OF VIRGINIA VOLUTEERS.*

Captain Charles R. McAlpine, promoted major, wounded.

First Lieutenant F. W, Armistead, dropped at reorganization, May 1862, joined 13th Virginia Cavalry.

Second Lieutenant John Hobday, Jr., promoted Captain May 12, 1864, wounded July 30, 1864, Crater, and killed October 27, 1864, at Burgess' Mill.

Third Lieutenant C. W. Murdaugh, promoted Captain, October 27th, 1864, wounded May 3, 1863, at Salem Church, (Chancellorsville.)

First Sergeant Johm M. Sherwood, surrendered at Appomattox.

Second Sergeant Edward C. Shepherd, disabled, detailed for hospital duty.

Third Sergeant David W. Thornton, detailed to work in Government shops.

Corporal George Oglevie, discharged October, 1861, disability.

Corporal Calvin L. Peek, promoted sergeant, captured October 27, 1864, and not exchanged.

Corporal Charles Evans, wounded May 3, 1863, Chacellorsville, captured August 19, 1864, and not exchanged.

Musician Joseph J. Smith, drummer.

Privates.

Beaton, Joseph, surrendered at Appomattox.

Bateman, Jonathan.

Barcroft, George W., left in hospital in Norfolk, sick, May 10, 1862, and never heard from.

Butt, William T., mortally wounded May 12, 1864, Spotsylvania Court House, and May 24th in Camp Winder hospital, Richmond.

Berkley, Lycurgus, furnished substitute May 6, 1862, substitute deserted May 10th.

Cooper, Arthur, died in hospital.

Casey, Elvin K., lost an arm May 6, 1864, Wilderness.

Casey, James A.

Cherry, Elias W., captured July 4, 1863, Gettysburg, and died in prison.

Collins, Charles W., killed August 19, 1864, Davis' Farm.

*The names of deserters are omitted.

Collins, Thomas, promoted corporal.

Curtis, Revel W., killed July 3, 1863, Gettysburg.

Dollett, William W.

Duke, Robert.

Duke, Parker, wounded July 30, 1864, Crater.

Eure, Hilary.

Eure, Henry.

Eure, Augustus, over age, furnished substitute October 23, 1861.

Ferrell, John, died June 1862, Battery No, 10, Richmond.

Fowler, A. J.,

Godwin, Laban T., promoted sergeant, captured August 19, 1864, not exchanged.

Hyslop, Denwood, captured August 19, 1864 and not exchanged.

Halloway, Joseph.

Hewlett, Joseph F., captured July 4, 1863, and not exchanged.

Heckrotte, Oliver, sent to hospital in Richmond 1863, and never heard from.

Herbert, Joseph T., transferred to 15th Virginia Cavalry.

Horton, Daniel W., sent to hospital September 26, 1862, and supposed to have died.

Jones, Walter J., promoted Lieutenant 41st Virginia Regiment, and killed May 6, 1864, Wilderness.

Jackson, William A., furnished substitute April 24, 1862.

King, Joseph.

King, George, captured August 9, 1864 and not exchanged.

King, Edward.

Kilgore, M. P., promoted sergeant October 11, 1862, killed July 30, 1864, Crater.

Mason, William, killed Cumberland Church, April 7, 1865.

Miller, John C.

Manning, S. D., died in hospital, September 1862, Petersburg.

Marchant, Frank M., promoted Third Lieutenant, July 29, 1862, promoted First Lieutenant, October 27, 1864.

Mears, James E., discharged for disabilities from wounds.

Mears, Thomas F., captured May 29, 1864, not exchanged.

Nottingham, B. F., died in field hospital, October, 1863, Brandy Station.

Porter, Thomas.

Powell, Albert, name published for distinguished gallantry at Spotsylvania Court House, May 12, 1864.

Pell, Thomas, captured August 19, 1864, and not exchanged.

Peek, Ammon, captured October 27, 1864, and not exchanged.

Ribble, Joseph, furnished substitute May 6, 1862, substitute deserted May 10th.

Rodman, Pierce, discharged September 1861, disability.

Sibley, William, captured July 1863, in Pennsylvania, and never heard from.

St. George, William E., captured July 2, 1863, Gettysburg, not exchanged.

Smith, W. J., died in Richmond May 20, 1863.

Tompkins, Joseph.

Toppin, Smith, promoted Sergeant, killed July 30, 1864, Crater.

White, John D., woundeed July 30, 1864, Crater, and discharged December 23, 1864, disabled.

White, Richard, wounded seriously, July 30, 1864, at the Crater, discharged January 9, 1865, disabled.

Ward, Julius, killed July 2, 1863, Gettysburg.

Whitson, William, discharged September, 1861, disabled.

Wise, Stephen, died in hospital, 1863.

Youre, Stephen.

SUMMARY.

We were in twenty-five battles, in which the killed were 8; Captain John Hobday, October 27, 1864, at Burgess Mill. Private Wm. F. Butt, May 12, 1864, Spotsylvania C. H.; Private Revil W. Custis, July 4, 1863, Gettysburg. Sergeant M. P. Kilgore, July 30, 1864, Crater. Private Charles W. Collins, August 19, 1864, Johnson's Farm. Johnson Ward, July 4, 1864, Gettysburg. Wm. Mason, Appomattox C. H., 1865. Sergeant Smith Toppin, July 30, 1864, Crater.

Died in Hospital: Privates John Ferrell, Richmond Battery, June 10, 1862; S. D. Manning, Petersburg, September, 1862; B. F. Nottingham, Brandy Station, Orange and Alexandria R. R., October, 1862; Wm. J. Smith, Richmond, May 21, 1863.

Died in Prison: Elias W. Cherry, 1864, sent to hospital at the evacuation of Norfolk, Va.; George W. Barcroft and D. W. Horton.

Who offered Substitutes: L. Berkley, Wm. A. Jackson, Augustus Evans, and Joseph Ribble.

Discharged from service previous to evacuation Norfolk: Privates Peirce Rodman and Wm. Whitson, and Corporal Geo. Ogelvie.

Dropped at the reorganization of the Army: Lieutenant F. N. Armstead.

Transferred: Privates Walter S. Jones and Joseph Herbert.

Deserted at the evacuation: 25.

Number entered at organization: 63:

Number that left Norfolk and were afterwards assigned: 62.

CONSPICUOUS FOR GALLANTRY.

At McCarthy's Farm: Captain Charles R. McAlpine, privates Elvin K. Casey, Wm. E. St. George, and Julius Ward and one who deserted.

Salem Church: Captain C. R. McAlpine and lieutenant C. W. Murdaugh.

Gettysburg: private Elvin K. Casey.

Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg: Captain Charles R. McAlpine, Elvin K. Casey, Wm. Mason, Edward King, John D. White, and Julius Ward.

Wilderness: Captain Charles R. McAlpine, lieutenant John Hobday, and private Elvin K. Casey.

Shady Grove: Private Charles N. Collins.

Spotsylvania C. H.: Captain Charles R. McAlpine, lieutenant John Hobday, privates Charles N. Collins, Albert Powell, and John D. White.

Wilcox Farm: Captain C. R. McAlpine, lieutenant John Hobday, privates Charles N. Collins, John C. Miller, and Richard White.

WOUNDED.

Salem Church: Lieutenant C. W. Murdaugh and sergeant Chas. Evans.

Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg: Revil W. Custis, James E. Mears, and one who deserted.

Wilderness: Elvin K. Casey.

Shady Grove: Wm. Mason.

Spotsylvania: Joseph King and Thomas Butt, who was mortally wounded.

Turkey Ridge: George King and Ammon Peek.

Frazier's Farm: Captain C. R. McAlpine.

Crater: Lieutenant John Hobday, J. D. White, sergeant Richard White.

Johnson's Farm: John C. Miller.

ROLL OF HONOR.

Major Charles R. McAlpine, Captain John Hobday, sergeant M. P. Kilgore, privates Elvin K. Casey, Charles N. Collins, John C. Miller, John D. White, Richard White, and Julius Ward.

CAPTURED.

Sergeant Calvin Peek, October 27, 1864, Burgess' Mill.
Sergeant Ammon Peek, October 27, 1864, Burgess' Mill.
Sergeant Charles Evans, October 19, 1864, Johnson's Farm.
Sergeant Laban T. Godwin, October 19, 1864, Johnson's Farm.
Private Denward Hyslop, October 19, 1864, Johnson's Farm.
Private George King, October 19, 1864, Johnson's Farm.
Private Thomas Peel, October 19, 1864, Johnson's Farm.
Private Elias W. Cherry, July 4, 1863, Gettysburg.
Private Joseph F. Hewlett, July 4, 1863, Gettysburg.
Private Joseph F. Mears, May 29, 1864, Hanover county.

["B." in Warrenton *Virginian*, February, 1896.

HANGING OF MOSBY'S MEN IN 1864.

After the defeat of General Early, at the battle of the Opequon, on September 19, 1864, his command fell back up the Valley. The brigade of cavalry under General Wickham occupied a strong position at Milford, twelve miles south of Front Royal, and Custer made repeated efforts to force him from the position, without effect. About this time it was reported to Captain Chapman, of Mosby's command, that a large wagon train was en route from Milford to Winchester, under the escort of a small body of men. He immediately made disposition for its capture at Front Royal. For this purpose he divided his men into two parties. One party was to attack the train at a point where a cross-road from Chester's Gap intersects the Front Royal and Luray grade; the other, under the immediate command of Chapman, was to fall upon the front of the train, about 600 yards from the town, where there is a hill on one side and a ravine on the other. It seems that Custer had divined in some way the Confed-

erate plans, and, instead of a small train guard, he had his whole division behind the wagons. He waited till the attack was made upon the front, when he threw a large force upon the Manor grade, a road running parallel with the Luray road, and took possession of Chester's Gap, Chapman's line of retreat. The latter promptly attacked the train, when he, in turn, was attacked in his rear. He immediately turned upon the force behind him, determined to cut his way out. The Federals, who had preceded him to the gap, had thrown a strong line across a narrow defile under the command of a captain or major, who stood upon foot in the middle of the road. Chapman formed his men in column, and boldly charged through this line. In the meleé, the Federal captain saw he would be captured or ridden down, and offered to surrender himself; but the pressure behind the Confederates was too great for them to stop to parley with one man, and some of those in the rear, not understanding the situation, emptied their revolvers into the captain, killing him instantly. The most of Mosby's men succeeded in getting away, but some had their horses shot, and others were cut off. Among these were, Anderson, Love, Overby, Carter and Henry Rhodes, of the Twenty-third Virginia Regiment. Custer determined to wreak summary vengeance upon these men. Rhodes was lashed with ropes between two horses, and dragged in plain sight of his agonized relatives to the open field of our town, where one man volunteered to do the killing, and ordered the helpless, dazed prisoner to stand up in front of him, while he emptied his pistol upon him. Anderson and Love were shot in a lot behind the court house. Overby and Carter were carried to a large walnut tree upon the hill between Front Royal and Riverton, and were hanged. The writer saw the latter under guard in a wagon lot. They bore themselves like heroes, and endured the taunts of their captors with proud and undaunted mein. One of them was a splended specimen of manhood—tall, well knit frame, with a head of black, wavy hair, floating in the wind, he looked like a knight of old. While I was looking at them, General Custer, at the head of his division, rode by. He was dressed in a splendid suit of silk velvet, his saddle bow bound in silver or gold. In his hand he had a large branch of damsons, which he picked and ate as he rode along. He was a distinguished looking man, with his yellow locks resting upon his shoulders. Rhodes was my friend and playmate, and I saw him shot from a distance, but did not at the time know who it was.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, March 1, 1896.]

THE RICHMOND HOWITZERS.

At Harper's Ferry, October, 1859.

THE FIRST HOWITZERS.

RICHMOND, VA., *February, 1896.*

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

Thinking that the roster of the original Howitzer Company, in its hurried and partial organization when it went to Harper's Ferry to meet the invaders of Virginia's sacred soil, under old John Brown, would not only be interesting to the survivors, but to your many readers, I venture to enclose it to you. It is taken from a copy of the Richmond *Whig*, dated November 22, 1859, and was furnished by the New York Historical Society and handed to me by Mr. R. W. Royal of this city (who was a gallant member of Company I., Richmond Howitzers, during the war), to be turned over to the Confederate Museum. It will also prove highly interesting to follow the career of many of these gallant members during the war. The only officers the company had when it left Richmond were the captain and orderly sergeant. Afterwards, John C. Shields, who went out in 1861 as captain of the First Company, but was promoted to Colonel and assigned to command of Camp Lee, the fall of that year was elected First Lieutenant, and John Thompson Brown, who went out in 1861 as captain of the Second Company, and was promoted to Colonel of Artillery, and fell on May 6, 1864, in the Wilderness, was elected Second Lieutenant. The company on the John Brown raid was armed as infantry with muskets.

Respectfully,

J. V. S. M'CREERY.

The roll is follows:

Captain, George W. Randolph.

Orderly Sergeant, G. G. Otey.

Privates: James A. August, Robert M. Anderson, Thomas S. Armistead, A. M. Archer, Wilson N. Bugg, John Thompson Brown, William H. Blackadar, William P. Burwell, Oscar Cranz, Charles Crane, Henry C. Carter, John Esten Cooke, W. W. Caldwell, James Ellett, Horace Edmund, James B. Ficklen, Alex. B. Guigon, Joseph H. Ghio, E. S. Hubbard, A. L. Holladay, Henry S. Jones,

William H. Lipscomb, Lucian Lewis, Dr. Theodore P. Mayo, John Mathews, Paul Michaux, Thomas J. Macon, Lawrence S. Marye, T. G. Peachy, Hugh R. Pleasants, Dr. William P. Palmer, Thomas Pollard, Jr., Edward Pistolette, Robert W. Powers, Hugh L. Powell, John B. Royall, John C. Shields, William B. Smith, Harrison Sublett, T. E. Stratton, William R. Todd, R. D. Ward, William F. Watson, Henry S. Williams, John H. Williams, Charles H. Wynne, Samuel T. Bailey.

[From the Richmond *Times*, April 5, 1896.]

FIRST GUN AT SUMTER.

WHO IS ENTITLED TO THE DISTINCTION OF FIRING IT.

What Edmund Ruffin, Who is Accorded the Honor by Many, Wrote the Day of the Historical Event.

To the Editor of the Times:

SIR,—I enclose you an extract from the *Southern Historical Society Papers* of 1884, pages 501–504, in regard to "Who fired the first gun at Fort Sumter?"

At the time I published this article, the statement made by General S. B. Lee, that Captain George S. James fired the first gun, was the only claim to that distinction that had come to my notice.

Since then several more claim this honor.

Now, inasmuch as you have had an article from my friend and schoolmate, James P. Harrison, of Danville, asking for the facts in regard to the claim that Edmund Ruffin shot the first gun, I hope you will publish what he himself wrote the day of that event, and the clippings from newspapers of that date, which I think will establish the fact beyond a doubt.

JULIAN M. RUFFIN.

Old Church, Va., March 30, 1896.

The extract referred to above follows:

WHO FIRED THE FIRST GUN AT SUMTER.

(Letter from General Stephen D. Lee.)

I wish to correct an error which has almost passed into an historical fact. It is this: That Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, did not

fire the first gun at Fort Sumter, but that Captain George S. James, of South Carolina, afterward killed when a lieutenant-colonel at Boonesboro, Md., did fire it.

The writer was a captain of a South Carolina army at the time, and an aide-de-camp on the staff of General Beauregard. He now has before him a diary written at the time; and there can be no mistake as to the fact.

The summon for the surrender or evacuation was carried by Colonel Chestnut, of South Carolina, and Captain S. D. Lee. They arrived at Sumter at 2:20 P. M., April 11th.

Major Anderson declined to surrender, but remarked "he would be starved out in a few days if he was not knocked to pieces by General Beauregard's batteries." This remark was repeated to General Beauregard, who informed President Davis. The result was, a second message was sent to Major Anderson by the same officers, accompanied by Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia, and Colonel Chisholm, of South Carolina. The messengers arrived at Sumter at 12:25 A. M., April 12th. Major Anderson was informed that if he would say that he would surrender on April 15th, and in the meantime would not fire on General Beauregard's batteries, unless he was fired on, he would be allowed that time; also that he would not be allowed to receive provisions from the United States authorities. The Major declined to accede to this arrangement, saying he would not open fire unless a hostile act was committed against his fort or his flag, but that if he could be supplied with provisions before the 15th of April he would receive them, and in that event he would not surrender. This reply being unsatisfactory, Colonel James Chestnut and Captain S. D. Lee gave the Major a written communication, dated "Fort Sumter, S. C., April 12, 1861, 3:20 A. M.," informing him, by authority of General Beauregard, that the batteries of General Beauregard would open fire on the fort in one hour from that time.

The party, as designated, then proceeded in their boats to Fort Johnson, on James Island, and delivered the order to Captain George S. James, commanding the mortar battery, to open fire on Fort Sumter. At 4:30 A. M. the first gun was fired at Fort Sumter, and at 4:40 the second gun was fired from the same battery. Captain James offered the honor of firing the first shot to Roger A. Pryor, of Virginia. He declined, saying he could not fire the first gun. Another officer then offered to take Pryor's place. James replied: "No! I will fire it myself." And he did fire it. At 4:45

A. M., nearly all the batteries in harbor were firing on Sumter. Mr. Edmund Ruffin (who was much beloved and respected) was at the iron battery on Morris Island. I always understood he fired the first gun from the iron battery, but one thing is certain—he never fired the first gun against Fort Sumter. George S. James did. Nor did he fire the second gun. He may have fired the third gun, or first gun from the iron battery on Morris Island.

Yours respectfully,

S. D. Lee.

REPLY OF JULIAN M. RUFFIN.

The above abstract having come to my notice, I desire to give the facts as to the part that Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, took in the firing on Fort Sumter. I have before me his journal, written at that time, and will copy what bears upon the subject:

"April 12, (1861).—Before 4 A. M. the drums beat for parade, and our company was speedily on the march to the batteries which they were to man. At 4:30 a signal shell was thrown from a mortar battery at Fort Johnson, which had been before ordered to be taken as the command for immediate attack, and firing from all the batteries bearing on Fort Sumpter, next began in the order arranged, which was that the discharges should be two minutes apart, and the round of all the pieces and batteries to be completed in thirty-two minutes, and then to begin again. The night before, when expecting to engage, Captain Cuthbert had notified me that his company requested of me to discharge the first cannon to be fired, which was their 64-pound Columbiad, loaded with shell. Of course I was highly gratified by the compliment, and delighted to perform the service—which I did, The shell struck the fort at the northeast angle of the parapet. By order of General Beauregard, made known the afternoon of the 11th, the attack was to be commenced by the first shot at the fort being fired by the Palmetto Guard, and from the iron battery. In accepting and acting upon this highly appreciated compliment, that compamy had made me its instrument," &c.

The above, as written at that very time, would fully establish the fact that the first shot was fired by Edmund Ruffin, and it will be observed that the signal shot which he refers to at Fort Johnson, at 4:30 A. M., is the same that S. D. Lee claims as the first shot at Fort Sumter at the same time (4:30 A. M.). Now, he too, might

easily be confounded, and to prove that the one from the iron battery, fired by Edmund Ruffin, was actually the first gun on Fort Sumter, I will give comments of the press of that date.

The Charleston *Courier* said: "The venerable Edmund Ruffin, who as soon as it was known a battle was inevitable, hastened over to Morris Island, and was elected a member of the Palmetto Guard, fired the first gun from Steven's iron battery. All honor to the chivalric Virginian! May he live many years to wear the fadeless wreath that honor placed upon his brow on our glorious Friday!"

From the Charleston correspondent of the New York *Tribune:*

"The first shot from Stevens' battery, was fired by the venerable Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia. The ball will do more for the cause of secession in the Old Dominion than volumes of stump speeches."

The Charleston *Mercury* says, the first gun fired from the iron battery off Cummings Point, was discharged by the venerable Edmund Ruffin. He subsequently shot from all the guns and mortars used during the action.

A Mobile paper had the following:

"A SUBLIME SPECTACLE.—The mother of the Gracchi, when asked for her jewels, pointed to her children and said: 'There they are.' With the same propriety can the 'Mother of States' point to her children as the brighest jewels she possesses. At the call of patriotism they are not laggard in responding to it, and Virginia blood has enriched every battle-field upon American soil. And we thank God the spirit has not departed from her, but burns as brightly in the breasts of her children as in the days of her Washington and her Henry. But of the many bright examples that she has furnished of patriotism the most sublime is the conduct of the venerable Edmund Ruffin, whose head is silvered over by more than eighty winters, who, when the war-cloud lowered over the gallant city of Charleston volunteered as a private, and with his knapsack on his back and musket on his shoulder, tended his services to South Carolina to fight against the aggression upon her rights. It was his hand that pointed and fired the FIRST gun at Fort Sumter. The world has pointed to the conduct of Cincinnatus, who, when his country was invaded by a hostile foe, left his plow in the furrow to take command of her forces, and after he had driven out the invader and restored his country to peace and prosperity, resigned his position and returned to his plow. By this one act he embalmed his memory in the breasts of his countrymen and of all patriots throughout the

world. The conduct of Cincinnatus was not more patriotic than that of Edmund Ruffin, and side by side in the niche of fame will their names be recorded by every patriotic heart."

From the New York *Post:*

"SHOT AND HEMP.—A Charleston Dispatch states that the 'first shot from Stevens' battery was fired by the venerable Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia.' A piece of the first hemp that is stretched in South Carolina should be kept for the neck of this venerable and bloodthirsty Ruffian."

From the above quoted expressions it would indeed be impossible to conclude otherwise than that the first gun on Fort Sumter was shot by Edmund Ruffin, and that such should be recorded as an historical fact. In fact, the above from S. D. Lee is the first intimation of a doubt on this subject that has ever been brought to the notice of any of the descendants of Edmund Ruffin. To all who knew Edmund Ruffin it would have been useless to say more than that throughout his manuscript he speaks of it as a fact. To those to whom he was a stranger I would say that many more comments of the press of that date establish the same fact; those of the South being loud in his praise, and those of the North being still more vindictive.

MUSTER ROLL OF THE HOLCOMBE GUARDS.

The following is furnished by Mr. W. A. Parrott, of McMullen, Greene county: The Holcombe Guards, afterwards Company I, Seventh Virginia Regiment (General Kemper's original regiment), Kemper's Brigade, Pickett's Division, Longstreet's Corps, Army of Northern Virginia, was organized May, 1861, at White Hall, Albemarle county, Va., and mustered into service June 3, 1861, with the following officers and men:

J. J. Winn, Captain, dead; J. W. Rodes, first lieutenant, dead; B. G. Brown, second lieutenant, dead; W. B. Maupin, third lieutenant; T. J. Golding, orderly sergeant; J. E. Wyant, second sergeant, dead; D. O. Etherton, third sergeant, dead; W. A. Brown, fourth sergeant, killed at Williamsburg; C. B. Brown, fifth sergeant;

W. P. Walters, first corporal, killed at Williamsburg; B. Fretwell, second corporal, died 1861; J. P. Jones, third corporal, dead; W. N. Parrott, fourth corporal; J. B. Ambroselli, killed at Gettysburg; F. A. Bowen, killed at Williamsburg; H. C. Blackwell, J. T. Belew, J. T. Bailey, W. H. H. Brown, B. G. Brown, W. G. Brown, R. C. Brown, G. P. Clarke, dead; W. N. Clarke, M. J. Clements, killed at Gettysburg; M. E. Clements, John L. Coleman, David Dove, dead; Peter L. Davis, Henry T. Davis, T. J. Fulcher, dead; G. R. Fisher, drowned; Eppa Fielding, W. B. Fielding, B. F. Fielding, killed at Bull Run; Elyie Gardiner, dead; J. T. Garrison, A. H. Good, killed at Gettysburg; E. D. Hustin, I. P. Iseman, W. D. Jarman, dead; J. L. Kidd, W. L. Keyton, dead; J. M. Lane, dead; G. Lowry, dead; J. T. Maupin, dead; Carson Maupin, W. H. McQuary, T. A. Marshall, dead; L. W. Powell, dead; J. W. Ryan, killed at Boonesboro; J. Snead, R. Snead, Z. Sandridge, L. Toombs, killed at Bull Run; J. W. Taylor, dead; A. J. Thurston, dead; George Thurston, dead; R. C. Via, T. Via, E. H. Ward, J. W. Walton, dead; B. F. Wheeler, dead; A. F. Wood, dead; W. T. Wood, dead; E. M. Wolfe, T. B. Wolfe, J. A. Wyant, killed at Dinwiddie Courthouse; W. W. Woods, killed second battle of Manassas; W. P. Woods, J. F. Wiseman. Original number, seventy-one.

Following are the names of recruits:

T. C. Clarke, J. L. Clarke, died in prison; Tobe Clarke, died in prison; Jimmie Harris, C. Ballard, killed at Dinwiddie Courthouse; Marion Ballard, killed at Frazer's Farm; R. Thurston, John Thurston, J. T. Thurston, R. Rea, R. A. Toombs, W. S. Chapman, W. G. Herndon, died at Point Lookout; W. H. Herring, killed at Gettysburg; Charles Racer, W. O. Sandridge, Dick Sandridge, died at Point Lookout; J. R. Slater, Joe Clements, N. Cox, died at Point Lookout; J. Fielding, Hamilton Lasley.

The company was first under fire at Bull Run, July 18, 1861, and was in every battle until the surrender.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, April 26, 1896.]

THE CONFEDERATE FLAG.

An Interesting Letter from General Bradley T. Johnson.

ACTS OF CONGRESS REGULATING IT.

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

The Confederate flag, with the memories it arouses, is very dear to many people, and we think it but justice to perpetuate a true and accurate description of it—"The Stars and Bars." I can find no record of it in the acts of Congress. It was used by companies and regiments in Virginia in 1861, without authority, and just as a matter of taste.

After Manassas, Beauregard had prepared at his headquarters a design for a flag, which was painted in water-colors. It was a red square, on which was displayed a blue St. Andrew's cross, bordered with white, and charged with thirteen white, five-pointed stars.

This was adopted in general orders from army headquarters, and became the battle-flag of the Confederacy, which should blaze in many a coming trial, showing its followers the way to duty and to death.

Three flags were made by "the three Cary girls," out of their own silk frocks, one for Joe Johnston, Beauregard, and Van Dorn each, and were always floated at the headquarters of these generals and on the march and in the battle showed where they were.

This was Beauregard's battle-flag!

ACT OF MAY 1, 1863.

May 1, 1863, an act of Congress was passed to establish the flag of the Confederate States, and it provided that the battle-flag should be the union of the new flag, and that the field should be white. I never saw this flag with troops. General Lee had one in front of his headquarters. The first time this flag was ever used, and I suspect the first that was ever made, was used as a pall over the bier of Stonewall Jackson as he lay in state in the Governor's house in Richmond, in May, 1863. But this flag looked too much like a flag of truce, and did not show at sea, so the story went, and consequently

on March 4, 1865, just twenty-eight days before the death of the Confederacy, Congress passed another act, adding a broad red bar across the end of it. I never saw this flag, nor have I ever seen a man who did see it—or who saw a man who did see it—with this exception: Colonel Lewis Euker tells me that riding down to General Custis Lee's quarters in November or December, 1864, he saw this flag flying over Howard's Grove Hospital, and his companion, a German gentleman then serving in the Ninth Virginia Cavalry, asked him what flag that was, and this incident impressed itself on his memory.

NEARLY CERTAIN TO BE RIGHT.

There is no possibility of doubting the accuracy of Colonel Euker's memory. He is as nearly certain to be right as any man I know, but there is confusion here. The flag was not adopted until March 4, 1865, and he saw it several months before. I explain this by thinking the design for the new flag was known and canvassed. I have a colored lithograph now, made by Hoyer & Ludwig, at the time, for Major Arthur L. Rodgers, who designed this alteration, and gave me the picture in December, 1864. So, I take it, the doctors at the hospital had made themselves a new flag to set the fashion. But that was not a flag authorized by law, and I have yet to see a man who saw such a flag, or saw any man who saw a man who saw one. After March 4, 1865, we were not making flags. Please print the acts of Congress establishing the flags. The last act has never been printed.

BRADLEY T. JOHNSON.

FROM THE RECORDS.

We comply with General Johnson's request by printing the Act of May 1, 1863, and the amendment thereto, passed March 4, 1865:

An act to establish the flag of the Confederate States:

The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That the flag of the Confederate States shall be as follows: The field to be white, the length double the width of the flag, with the union (now used as the battle-flag) to be a square of two-thirds the width of the flag, having the ground red; thereon a broad saltier of blue, bordered with white, and emblazoned with white mullets or five-pointed stars, corresponding in number to that of the Confederate States. (First Congress, third session. Approved May 1, 1863.)

The foregoing was amended by the following act:

The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact, That the flag of the Confederate States shall be as follows: The width, two-thirds of its length, with the union (now used as the battle-flag) to be in width three-fifths of the width of the flag, and so proportioned as to leave the length of the field on the side of the union twice the width of the field below it; to have the ground red, and a broad blue saltier thereon bordered with white, and emblazoned with mullets or five-pointed stars, corresponding in number to that of the Confederate States; the field to be white, except the outer half from the Union to be a red bar extending the width of the flag. (Second Congress, second session. Approved March 4, 1865.)

Official statement furnished to the editor of the Richmond *Dispatch.*

By authority of the Secretary of War.

F. C. AINSWORTH,
Colonel U. S. A., Chief Record and Pension Office.

[From the N. O. *Picayune*, April 5, 1896.]

THE BATTLE OF SHILOH.

A Graphic Description of that Sanguinary Engagement.

WRITTEN BY GENERAL JOSEPH WHEELER,
Now Member of Congress,

Who Commanded a Brigade and Made a Famous Charge at Shiloh under the Direction of General Albert Sidney Johnston.

The following article on the battle of Shiloh was written by General Joseph Wheeler, now representing the Eighth Alabama district in the House of Representatives. Although now sixty years of age, General Wheeler is one of the most active members of that body.

He was born at Augusta, Ga., September 10, 1836, graduated at West Point in 1859, was lieutenant of cavalry and served in New Mexico; resigned in 1861; entered the Confederate army as lieutenant of artillery and was successively promoted to the command

of a regiment, brigade, division, army corps; in 1862 he was assigned to command the army corps of cavalry of the western army, in which position he continued until the close of the war. By joint resolution of the Confederate Congress he was thanked for successful military operations, and received the thanks of the State of South Carolina for his defense of Aiken. May 11, 1864, he was the senior cavalry commander of the Confederate armies. In 1866 he was offered a professorship in the Louisiania State Seminary, which he declined. He was elected to the forty-seventh, forty-ninth, fiftieth, fifty-first, fifty-second, fifty-third and fifty-fourth congresses.

Upon my arrival at Corinth, March 9, 1862, says General Wheeler, I was assigned to the command of a brigade and was sent to the front near Monterey as the advance guard of our army (*War Records*, Vol. 10, part 2, page 307). While performing this duty I reconnoitered close up to the Federal lines, captured prisoners from the enemy's pickets, and gained information of their position and the general conformation of the country. On March 10th, a Federal reconnoisance in force, commanded by General Sherman, advanced, and after driving in our pickets beyond Monterey, retreated rapidly to their camp near Shiloh Church.

On April 3d General Johnston moved upon the enemy, and on the evening of April 5th the entire army was drawn up in two lines of battle in front of the Federal camps. There is no doubt but that the Federal commander knew there was a Confederate force near him, as in a lively skirmish on the evening of April 4th prisoners were captured by both sides, but the weight of evidence seems to indicate that he did not expect a general attack, and most certainly it could not have been expected as early as the morning of April 6th.

FORCES AT SHILOH.

On March 30, 1862, General Halleck reported Buell's forces at 101,051, and Grant's at 75,000, and the War Department says Grant reported his forces at 68,175 on April 1, 1862. (See *William Preston Johnston*, page 538.)

Van Horn's Army of the Cumberland says, page 98:

"Buell's force was 94,783 men. Of this, 73,472 were in condition for the field, and of this force 37,000 was to join in the movement against the enemy at Corinth. The remaining 36,000 effective troops were disposed by Buell for the defense of his communications."

The head of the column of 37,000 men was within seven miles of

the field on the evening of April 5th, and had joined Grant, and was in line and in action at 5 P. M. on the first day of the battle. (See *War Records*, Vol. 10, Nelson's Report, page 323; Colonel Amens, page 328; Colonel Grose's Report, page 337; Colonel Anderson's Report, page 739; Badeau, page 84.) And yet General Buell reports that but 21,579 of his army were actually engaged in the battle.

The returns of the War Department, as given by *William Preston Johnston*, page 685, claim that Grant's army on Sunday morning, April 6th, was only: Present for duty, 49,232; total present, 58,052.

Lewis Wallace's division was rested and in good condition, and within an hour's march of the battlefield when the action commenced; but as he did not become actually engaged on the 6th, it is contended that his division, 7,771 strong, should be deducted.

The highest figures, those of General Halleck, put the entire force under Grant and Buell at 176,000, and the lowest figures put the force actually engaged at 70,893.

CONFEDERATE FORCE.

War Records, volume 10, part 1, page 398, states that before leaving Corinth for the field of Shiloh, General Johnston's force was as follows: Effective total—Infantry, 34,727; artillery, 1,973; cavalry, 2,073; total 38,773. Total present—Infantry, 41,457; artillery, 2,183; cavalry, 2,785; total, 46,425.

A garrison was left at Corinth; large details were made to corduroy and repair roads. The cavalry did not get into action; troops were detached and sent to Hamburg and other points, making deductions amounting to at least 8,000, leaving those actually engaged at 30,773, so that either estimate would put the entire Federal force more than twice that of the Confederate.

THE BATTLE.

Brigadier-General John K. Jackson was placed in command of my brigade, which, on April 6, consisted of the 2d Texas and the 17th, 18th, and 19th Alabama Regiments of infantry, and General Garrard's Battery, but after giving the first orders to move forward the duties performed by them were such that the command of the brigade devolved upon me, the orders I received coming directly from the commanding general, Albert Sidney Johnston, and Generals Bragg, Hardee, and Withers.

William Preston Johnston, in his life of General Johnston, page 602, says: "At Shiloh there was much dislocation of commands. * * * Everybody seemed to have assumed authority to command a junior officer, and as the order was 'Help me,' or 'Forward,' it was always obeyed with alacrity. There was not much etiquette, but there was terrible fighting at Shiloh."

The forward movement of our lines of battle commenced very early on the morning of the 6th, and in a few moments the troops I commanded became engaged in combats with what appeared to be independent brigades and divisions.

Each line of battle attacked by us at first offered a stubborn resistance, but finally yielded and retired towards the river. Between 1 and 2 o'clock, while reforming my brigade, preparatory to moving upon a line of battle which was formed in front of a camp upon the crest of a hill, and separated by a ravine from my position, General Albert Sidney Johnston rode up and personally gave me directions to make the attack, waiving his arms towards the enemy and saying "Charge that camp."

William Preston Johnston, in "Life of his Father," page 595, says: "He (General Johnston) gave Colonel Wheeler, of the 19th Alabama, afterwards distinguished as a cavalry general, his order to charge."

Very many of my command saw me gallop up to General Johnston and knew that the order came direct from the commander of the army, and this added to the enthusiasm with which they charged under a very heavy fire, driving the enemy and capturing a number of prisoners. The enemy fell back upon a second Federal line of battle, which occupied another crest, but after delivering an artillery fire, we charged this line, again capturing prisoners, the enemy retreating rapidly beyond our view.

Hearing a heavy fire to my left and front, I moved rapidly in that direction, encountering in a burning wood a large force, which retreated after a sharp engagement. About 3 o'clock I came upon two Mississippi regiments warmly engaging a long and dense line of battle.

The Federals largely outnumbered and outflanked the Mississippians, and were forcing them back, while the Mississippians were fighting at close range, most gallantly and doggedly holding every foot of ground as long as possible, the men seeming to turn and fire upon the advancing enemy at nearly every step.

The color-bearers of the two regiments were very near the advanc-

ing line, and General Chalmers himself was gallantly riding among the troops. I was impressed that this was a persistent effort on the part of the enemy to penetrate our line, and I determined to resist and prevent it at all hazards. I advanced my entire brigade, fully 1,600 strong, in one handsome, regular line. General Chalmers and his battle-worn troops passed to my rear, and I took up the fight with all possible determination.

General Chalmers' Report, vol. 10, page 550, says:

"After a severe firing of some duration, finding the enemy stubbornly resisting, I rode back for General Jackson's Brigade. I did not see General Jackson, but, finding Colonel Wheeler, called upon him to take up the fight, which he did with promptness and vigor. I sent a staff officer to command my brigade to lie down and rest until they received further orders."

The Nineteenth Alabama was the earliest to meet and check the enemy, but the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Alabama soon came upon my left. The Second Texas was on the right of the brigade, and as my movement had been something in the nature of a swing to the left, that regiment had further to march and met with some delay in getting into action.

The enemy's advance was checked, and for a time he held a strong position, partly protected by the slope of a ridge and a part of his line being also protected by the fence and the buildings and outhouses of a settlement. We finally dislodged him from this position, and the enemy, retreating a short distance, both lines fought at close range as severely as is ever experienced in a battle.

I do not know the losses sustained by the other regiment, but the Ninteteenth Alabama lost about twenty killed, and 140 wounded in about fifty minutes.

About an hour after taking up the fight from General Chalmers, the firing ceased in front of the Second Texas, and Major Runnels, of that regiment, rode up and directed my attention to a white flag on the enemy's line.

In a moment firing ceased in my immediate front, and by my direction Major Runnels galloped up to the officers who were displaying the flag, and in a moment returned with an exclamation that "the entire army had surrendered."

I moved the brigade up in good order directly in front of the surrendering enemy, and, by great efforts, succeeded in keeping the men in rank and the brigade in line. I saw the necessity for this, as

some other troops had come up, and were becoming virtually disorganized, officers, as well as men, leaving the ranks and mixing among the prisoners and scattering the captured camps.

While in this position some cavalry rode up from our rear and passed between the Nineteenth Alabama and the Second Texas and took position between the prisoners and Pittsburg landing.

Abbot's Battle Fields of '61, page 257, says:

"After a short delay, Bragg availed himself of the opportunity to attack the 'Hornet's Nest' by the flank. The movement was attended with complete success."

"Generals Wallace and Prentiss showed themselves worthy of the trust reposed in them by Grant and fought stubbornly until the former was shot down with a mortal wound, and the latter, with 3,000 men, was surrounded and captured by an overwhelming force of Confederates."

Generals Bragg and Withers came up and directed me to take the prisoners to Corinth, but, upon my suggestion that the battle was not over, General Bragg allowed me to detail for that purpose one regiment of the brigade (Colonel Shorter's), and I promptly formed the rest of the brigade into line, replenished ammunition and moved forward toward the river.

We met a warm fire, mostly from artillery, and when near the river, suffered some from the gunboats.

A rapid ascent to the crest of a ridge near the river placed my brigade some 300 yards in advance of our general line, most of which was still at the foot of the ridge.

Looking back, I saw the greater part of the troops withdrawing to the rear.

Night came on, and General Withers sent an order to retire. On Sunday evening the head of General Buell's army reached the field, and the next morning 21,579 soldiers of that army were in line of battle, side by side with Grant's army, making the total Federal force with which we contended on the 6th and 7th, 70,893.

Many Confederate regiments had almost disbanded during the night, and the second day it is doubtful if we had more than 15,000 men on the field, but they were the elite of the army and fought with unsurpassed heroism.

THE SECOND DAY'S BATTLE.

Early on the morning of the 7th, under orders from Generals

Hardee and Withers, I moved forward towards the river and soon met the advancing enemy.

By General Hardee's orders I deployed the entire 19th Alabama Regiment as skirmishers, and with this regiment thus deployed, resisted for a time the advance of a solid line of battle.

I was soon driven back upon the main body of my brigade; my entire line became warmly engaged, and continued to fight with more or less severity during the entire battle.

It rained during most of the morning, and the air being still, both armies were much of the time enveloped in clouds of smoke.

Twice, in conjunction with General Chalmers, I charged up a hill and drove the enemy from a favorable position, but both times they were re-enforced and retook the position from us.

General Chalmer's Report, Vol. 10, page 552, in discussing these charges, says:

"Colonel Wheeler, of the 19th Alabama Regiment, was fighting with the Mississippians and bearing the colors of his command, in this last charge so gallantly made."

In reference to this part of the battle, William Preston Johnston, page 643, says:

"Chalmers was at one time detached from the command of his own brigade by General Withers in order to lead one of these conglomerate commands, and Colonel Wheeler had charge of two or three regiments thrown together. * * * Chalmers seized the colors of the 9th Mississippi and called on them to follow. With a wild shout the whole brigade rushed in and drove the enemy back until it re-occupied its first position of the morning. In this charge Wheeler led a regiment, carrying its colors himself."

The 1st Missouri Regiment having been added to my brigade, I continued engaging the enemy with varied severity until about 3 o'clock, when my command was increased by the addition of the Crescent Regiment, under Colonel Marshall I. Smith. At this time the entire line withdrew to the crest of a hill and, pursuant to orders from General Withers, I took position in advance of the other troops. General Withers in his report, Vol. 10, page 535, in referring to this, says:

"The command slowly and in good order retired and formed line of battle as ordered, the advance line under Colonel Wheeler."

A little later the bulk of our army commenced withdrawing from the field, and I was instructed to act as the rear guard with the 19th

Alabama, 1st Missouri, some small detachments and a section of artillery.

The gallant colonel of the 1st Missouri, Lucius L. Rich, having been mortally wounded, the regiment was now commanded by Major Olen F. Rice.

The enemy were in heavy masses in my front, but they showed no disposition to advance, and the firing was at long range and without much effect.

General Buell (page 295) speaks of this firing, but says: "The pursuit was continued no further that day."

General Grant (page 109) speaks of the fight continuing till 5 P. M. He also says his force was too fatigued to pursue immediately. I remained on the field until dark, and then withdrew about three miles, and at midnight General Bragg gave me verbal instructions to hold that position.

On the next morning, the 8th, Generals Sherman and Wood, each with a division, advanced, but, after feeling our lines, retired. I remained in the position close up to the enemy for about a week, and, with the exception of scouting parties, which approached our lines, the enemy remained quietly in their camp.

General Breckenridge had halted his command between my position and Monterey, and the day after the battle rode down to my bivouac, and the following day continued his march to Corinth. General Withers, in his report of the withdrawal from the field (Vol. X, page 535), says:

"The remainder of the troops marched to within a mile of Mickey's, where they were placed under command of Colonel Wheeler, who throughout the fight had proved himself worthy of all trust and confidence, a gallant commander and an accomplished soldier."

And General Bragg (page 468) speaks of the noble service of "the excellent regiment of Colonel Joseph Wheeler."

The public seem to have regarded the surrender of General Prentiss, with 3,400 Federal soldiers, as the leading feature in the battle of Shiloh, and discussions have taken place as to what troops are entitled to the most credit and also as to the hour that the surrender took place.

William Preston Johnston (page 620), in speaking of Prentiss' surrender, says:

"Each Confederate commander—division, brigade and regimen-

tal—as his command pounced upon the prey, believed it entitled to the credit of the capture."

The truth is, the battle of Shiloh was fought by an army of superbly brave men, very few of whom had had the advantage of instruction, drill, or discipline.

The surrender of Prentiss was due to the gallantry of the entire army, which, by desperate fighting between daylight and 4 o'clock on April 6, had dispersed and driven from the field all of Grant's army, except Prentiss and Wallace's Divisions, which, becoming in a measure isolated, were doomed to surrender.

Confederate regiments who never fired a shot at the surrendered troops were entitled to a full share of the credit, as they had defeated and driven off the other divisions, which made the capture of Prentiss and Wallace's Division possible. A review of the reports written at the time may be a matter of some interest.

War Records (Vol. X, page 104) and General Prentiss' report (pages 277–279) inform us that Prentiss' Division included the 12th Michigan, Colonel Francis Quinn; 18th Wisconsin, Colonel J. S. Albin; 18th Missouri, Colonel Madison Miller; 21st Missouri, Colonel David Moore; 23d Missouri, Colonel Tindall; 25th Missouri, Colonel Everett Peabody; 61st Illinois, Colonel Jacob Fry.

General Prentiss also informs us that the following regiments of General W. H. L. Wallace's Divison fought to the end and surrendered with him: The 8th Iowa, Colonel J. L. Geddes; 12th Iowa, Colonel Jos. I. Wood; 14th Iowa, Colonel Wm. T. Shaw; 58th Illinois, Colonel Lynch.

I find only eight reports made by these officers, and some of them do not allude to the fighting incident to the surrender of General Prentiss. His report, dated November 17 (Vol. X, page 278), says:

"I reformed to the right of General Hurlburt and to the left of Brigadier-General W. H. L. Wallace. This position I did maintain till 4 P. M., when General Hurlburt, being overpowered, was forced to retire. Perceiving that I was about to be surrounded, I determined to assail the enemy which had passed between me and the river, charging upon him with my entire force. I found him advancing *en masse*, and nothing was left but to harrass him and retard his progress so long as might be possible. This I did until 5:30 P. M., when finding that further resistance must result in the slaughter of every man in the command, I had to yield the fight. The enemy

succeeded in capturing myself and 2,200 rank and file, many of them being wounded."

Colonel J. J. Woods, Twelfth Iowa Report, April, 1862, pages 151–152, says:

"Thus matters stood in our front until about 4 P. M., at which time it became evident by the firing on our left that the enemy were getting in our rear. * * * Seeing ourselves surrounded, we, nevertheless opened a brisk fire on that portion of the enemy who blocked our passage to the landing, who, after briskly returning our fire, fell back. We attempted by a rapid movement to cut our way through, but the enemy on our left advanced rapidly, pouring into our ranks a most destructive fire. To have held out longer would have been to suffer complete annihilation. The regiment was, therefore, compelled to surrender as prisoners of war."

Colonel J. L. Geddes, of the Eighth Iowa, in his report dated November 13, page 166, says:

"I formed my regiment in line of battle with my center resting on the road leading from Corinth to Pittsburg landing, and at right angles with my line. * * * About 3 P. M., all direct communications with the river ceased. * * * General Prentiss' division having been thrown back from the original line, I changed front by my left flank, conforming to his movements and at right angles with my former base, which was immediately occupied and retained for some time by the Fourteenth Iowa, Colonel Shaw. In this position I ordered my regiment to charge a battalion of the enemy (I think Fourth Mississippi), which was done in good order, completely routing the enemy. We were now attacked on three sides. It now became absolutely necessary to prevent annihilation to leave a position which my regiment had held for nearly ten consecutive hours of severe fighting, with a loss of nearly 200 in killed and wounded. I ordered my regiment to retire. I perceived that further resistance was useless. Myself and the major portion of my command were captured."

It is possible that this was a portion of the line of battle which was pressing back General Chalmers when I relieved him about 3 o'clock.

In a report dated April 9, 1862, page 281, Colonel Francis Quinn, Twelfth Michigan, says:

"Between 4 and 5 o'clock on the afternoon two regiments sur-

rendered. * * * At this time General Prentiss must have been taken prisoner. He was a brave man and cheered his men to duty during the whole day. When the fight was thickest and danger the greatest, there was he found, and his presence gave renewed confidence. * * * The great numbers of the dead in front of this one position caused remark and astonishment by all who beheld it the following day. This point was held from 9 o'clock A. M. till 4:30 P. M., amid the most dreadful carnage for a little space ever witnessed on any field of battle during the war."

In report dated December 1, page 291, Colonel Quinn Morton says:

"We were then ordered to change our position and to engage a large force of the enemy who were pressing upon the centre, which was done.

"After a severe engagement at a distance of twenty-five or thirty yards, we drove the enemy back, not, however, without serious loss. We held the position assigned us until 4 P. M., fighting almost without intermission, at which time we were ordered to change our front to meet the enemy who had outflanked us. * * * We fought until 5 o'clock, driving the enemy back, although they charged us frequently during that time. Here there was a most horrible shower of shot and shell. We repulsed the enemy in our rear and determined to try and reach the main body of the army, which had fallen back to the river, and in the effort to lead our now broken force back, the gallant and much lamented Colonel Tyndall fell, shot through the body, after having done his duty most nobly during the day. After retiring about 200 yards we were met by a large force of the enemy and compelled to surrender at about 6 P. M., after ten hours of almost incessant fighting."

In his report dated October 26, page 154, Colonel Wm. T. Shaw says:

"At about a quarter to 5 P. M., I received an order from Colonel Tuttle to about face and proceed to engage the same body of the enemy. In order not to interfere with General Prentiss' lines, I marched by an oblique, passing close to the 18th Wisconsin in his line, and here for the third time that day the 14th engaged with the enemy. After less than half an hour we repulsed them and made a short advance which revealed to me the facts of our position. * * General Prentiss having already surrendered with a part of his command, the 14th was left in advance of all that remained, but com-

pletely enclosed, receiving the enemy's fire from three directions. The regiment still kept its ranks unbroken and held its position facing the enemy, but the men were almost completely exhausted with a whole day of brave and steady fighting, and many of them had spent their whole stock of ammunition. It was therefore useless to think of prolonging a resistance which could only have wasted their lives to no purpose, and at about 5:45 P. M. I surrendered them and myself prisoners of war."

In his report dated April 12, page 550, General James R. Chalmers says:

"About a quarter of an hour after the surrender some of our troops, supposed to be of General Polk's division, made their appearance on the opposite side of the surrendered camp, and were with great difficulty prevented from firing upon the prisoners. * * It was then about 4 o'clock in the evening, and after distributing ammunition we received orders from General Bragg to drive the enemy into the river."

Major-General Leonidas Polk, in his report dated September, 1862, forwarded February 4, 1863, says, page 409:

"About 5 P. M. my line attacked the enemy's troops, the last that were left upon the field in an encampment on my right. The attack was made in front and flank. The resistance was sharp but short. The enemy perceiving he was flanked in a position completely turned, hoisted the white flag and surrendered. It proved to be the command of Generals Prentiss and Wm. H. L. Wallace."

It will be observed that General Chalmers' report, written five days after the battle, fixes the hour of Prentiss' surrender at about 4 o'clock; also that Colonel Quinn, who made his report immediately after the battle (April 9), says that the movement to outflank his left was at 2 o'clock and that two regiments surrendered very soon afterwards, and he speaks of the dreadful carnage up to 4:30. Also that Colonel Geddes, of the 8th Iowa, says: Direct communication with the river ceased at about 3 P. M., and we knew that Hurlbert and a part of Wallace's Division retreated to the river a short time before the surrender.

It will be also observed that it is reports made many months after the battle, which places the time of the surrender of Prentiss as late as 5 o'clock.

My recollection is that I was fully twenty or twenty-five minutes in taking charge of the prisoners and placing them under the guard

of Colonel Shorter's Regiment, and fully twenty minutes more in replenishing ammunition and reforming the brigade, and certainly twenty minutes more in marching to the river bank, which we reached before sundown.

This would tend to fix 4 o'clock as very approximately the hour of Prentiss' surrender.

This engagement, by far, was the most warmly contested up to that period of the war, and hardly surpassed in severity by any battle which followed, was a square standup fight at close range and without cover by men, very few of whom had before that day been in battle. The Confederate loss was 1,728 killed, 8,012 wounded, 950 missing, more than one-third of the force actually engaged.

The Federals report their loss at 1,700 killed, 7,495 wounded, and 3,022 captured.

General Prentiss and the lamented General W. H. L. Wallace and the brave men they commanded need no enconium; they bore the brunt of the battle from daylight until 4 o'clock. Then cut off and isolated, they made a desperate charge in an effort to escape, driving everything before them until met by my brigade, which they fought with desperation until they saw that surrender was inevitable.

[From the Richmond (Va.) *Times*, May 10, 1896.]

FIGHT AT FRONT ROYAL.

A VINDICATION OF HISTORICAL TRUTH, BY ONE WHO KNOWS.

Facts from a Diary of Events, Substantiated by Official Reports of Actors in the Scenes.

Editor of the Times:

SIR,—In consequence of the frequent misstatements made, some of which have found their way into public print, concerning the fighting in the vicinity of Front Royal on the 23d of May, 1862, and the capture of the Federal garrison at that place, I have frequently been requested by some of my old comrades to prepare for publication a correct statement of the occurrences of that eventful day. From various causes I have from time to time postponed a compliance with these requests until the present, but, having been recently

informed, whether correctly or not I am not able to state, that some of these statements have been incorporated in some of our modern histories, I have concluded to prepare for your columns a correct statement of the occurrences referred to, and in doing so I shall not depend upon my memory, but shall state the facts in the matter under consideration, as recorded in a diary kept by me during the war, and I shall substantiate that record by quotations from the official reports of the officers (Confederate and Federal) who were actors in these stirring events.

On the 20th of May, 1862, the 2d and the 6th regiments of Virginia cavalry, the former under the command of Colonel Munford, and the latter under Colonel Thomas Stanhope Flournoy, who, being the senior officer, had command of both regiments, broke camp near Culpeper Courthouse and marched to Woodville, Rappahannock county. On the following day we crossed the Blue Ridge into Page Valley, in advance of General Ewells' Division, and continued our march to Luray. On the 22d our march was continued in the direction of Front Royal. On the two last-named days, all along our route, the loyal women of that beautiful valley, from the gray-haired matron to the fair, blooming maiden, flocked to the roadside to bid us welcome, and to cheer us on our way.

It is proper to state here, before going into a narration of the events of the following day, that the misstatement referred to above is to the effect that the garrison at Front Royal was captured by the First Maryland (Confederate) Regiment of infantry, and Wheat's Louisana Battalion of Infantry, whereas the facts and the official records will show that there was no Confederate infantry within three or four miles of the Federal force at the time of its capture.

On the following day, the 23rd, our march northward was resumed, but the cavalry was soon sent to the left to cut the railroad and telegraphic communications between Strasburg and Front Royal, while the infantry pressed on towards the latter place, where a brisk skirmish ensued, but the Federal force retreated across both forks of the Shenandoah, carrying with them their artillery and wagon-train, and firing the bridge over the North river after they had crossed it.

TOO SLOW FOR JACKSON.

In referring to what transpired at Front Royal, General Jackson, in his official report, says: "But in the meantime, Wheat's Battalion, Major Wheat, and the First Maryland Regiment, Colonel Brad-

ley T. Johnson, advanced more directly, driving in their skirmishers, the Federals retreating across both forks of the Shenandoah."

The cavalry, having accomplished the mission upon which it had been sent, moved on in the direction of Front Royal. Upon reaching the bridge crossing the North Fork, we found that the enemy had fired it. The fire, however, had been extinguished by our infantry, but not until the flooring on the south side of the bridge had been burned nearly through. By riding slowly, in single file, and bearing as far as possible to the right, we proceeded to cross the bridge. This was slow work, and too slow for General Jackson, who as soon as four companies had crossed, ordered Colonel Flournoy in pursuit of the enemy with those four companies.

Colonel Flournoy promptly obeyed, and started rapidly up the turnpike towards Winchester with his small force (not exceeding, if equalling, 200 men), the companies being in the following order: Company E, of Halifax, Captain C. E. Flournoy; Company B, of Rappahannock, Captain Daniel Grimsley; Company K, of Loudoun, Captain George A. Baxter; and Company A, also of Loudoun, Captain R. H. Dulany.

Being in the front section of fours of our company, I was a witness to the following rather amusing incident: We were proceeding in a rapid trot, Captain Baxter being immediately in front of my section. Just in front of the latter rode two soldiers who did not seem to be connected with the company next in front. The elder wore a dingy gray coat and an old military cap, pulled well forward, and rode a raw-bone sorrel horse, while on his right rode a youth who seemed to be more neatly dressed than the other. True the old sorrel and his companion ambled along at a good gait, but not fast enough for the ardent and impatient spirit of Baxter, who, in no very choice language, peremptorily commanded them to "get out of the way of my (his) men." The younger of the two turned to Baxter and, with a motion towards his companion, said: "This is General Jackson." This was like a thunder-bolt to Baxter and the rest of us, as we were not then as familiar with General Jackson's appearance as we became afterwards during his Valley Campaign and as couriers for him in the winter of 1863–'64. As soon as he recovered his breath, Baxter, waving his hat around his head, led us in "three cheers for General Jackson," given in genuine Confederate style. General Jackson immediately wheeled his horse, and ordered Captain Baxter to take his company and Company A and form his squadron and charge on the right of the turnpike; Company E was ordered

to the left of the turnpike, while Company B was ordered to charge in the turnpike.

A TERRIFIC CHARGE.

These orders were rapidly given and promptly and quickly executed. After passing into the field on the right, our squadron advanced in a gallop, crossing one or two fences, until we reached a post-and-rail and capped fence, enclosing an orchard, where the enemy, quietly watching our advance, was prepared to receive our onslaught. They were posted at Cedarville, about five miles from Front Royal. As soon as the head of the column reached the fence, I leaped from my horse and attempted to pull down one of the fence-posts, but, finding myself unequal to the task, I sprang into my saddle again. However, by some means an opening was quickly made in the fence, and through it we rushed. As we entered the orchard, Captain Baxter gave the command, "Left into line," which was done in a gallop. Quickly thereafter, being in front of his men, with his pistol over his head, he gave the order to charge, then, pressing our rowels into our horses flanks, with a wild rush we charged upon the enemy like a tempest, and they might as well have tried to stop a tornado. I do not believe they could have checked our onset by any volley they could have given us, without killing our horses, for if the majority of the riders had been shot down the horses would have been carried by their tremendous momentum into the ranks of the enemy. Captain George A. Baxter, Company K, was killed by a musket shot fired at close range. No more generous and heroic man than he fell during the war, and he was idolized by his men. The horse of Lieutenant George F. Means, Company K, being killed with bayonets, fell upon his rider, who was about to be dispatched with clubbed muskets of some of the enemy when Sergeant Fout, Company K, rushed to his rescue. Company A lost one killed and one wounded. But Company B, which charged in the turnpike, was the principal sufferer in this conflict. The enemy, at close range, poured a deadly volley into the ranks of this company, killing nine and wounding fourteen out of thirty-six men, and killing and wounding twenty-one horses, but failed to stop them, for the remainder of this heroic band, led by the gallant Grimsley, dashed into the midst of the enemy and scattered them like chaff before the wind. One man in Company B was pierced with fourteen bullets. I was informed of many interesting and thrilling incidents that occurred during the conflict, but I did

not witness them, as, being at the head of the column when we entered the orchard, the command, "Left into line" threw me on the right of the line, and I found matters in my own immediate vicinity so intensely interesting, that I had no time to gaze around to see what was transpiring in other parts of the field.

When we broke their ranks the enemy scattered in every direction, and we scattered in as many directions, also in pursuit. Companies D and I of our regiment, the 6th, came up in time to join in the pursuit. Thus had our small force of about 200 cavalry attacked and routed a vastly superior force of the enemy, numbering about 800, and consisting of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, although that force had formed in battle array to repel our attack. Besides their killed and wounded we captured about 700 prisoners and their artillery and wagon-train. The remainder of our regiment did not get up in time to join in the pursuit. On the following day I heard General Ewell remark to Colonel Flournoy, after expressing his regret at the loss sustained, "But you made a glorious charge."

Among the prisoners was Colonel Kenley, the Federal commander, who was also wounded by a sabre cut, I think, on the head. In the ranks of Co. K, of the 6th Virginia, he had a cousin, a Mr. T. M. C. Paxson. It so happened that on the following day Paxson was among the number detailed to take the prisoners to Winchester. Colonel Kenley, being in the ambulance, recognized Paxson, and called him. After conversing a few minutes he asked Paxson what regiment he belonged to. On being told, the 6th Virginia Cavalry, he replied: "Do you know that you men made the greatest cavalry charge yesterday on record?" and he went on to state that he had formed his men to repel our attack, and they had stood their ground until we were in their midst, yet they had been overcome, and that history nowhere recorded an instance where so small a force of cavalry had charged and overcome so greatly a superior force of infantry, supported by cavalry and artillery. Mr. Paxson is now residing near Peoenia, Va., and will verify the statement just made.

CAPTURED BY CAVALRY.

From the foregoing it will be seen that no Confederate infantry whatever had anything to do with the capture of the Federal force under Colonel Kenley. Soon after the fight the report gained credence that the 1st Maryland (Confederate) and Wheat's Battalion had captured the Federal force at Front Royal, yet I have never

heard any member of either of those gallant commands making any such claim.

In substantiation of the fact that this Federal force was captured by the four companies of the 6th Virginia Cavalry named, I will now quote from the official reports of some of the officers engaged.

Colonel Kenley says: "I still pushed on in an orderly, military manner, and had actually gained some four miles from the river when Major Vought rode up from the rear and informed me that he was closely pressed. * * * The infantry in the field poured in a very close volley, which nearly destroyed the leading company, but it did not check the advance of the succeeding squadrons, which charged in the most spirited manner. Large numbers of them, turning into the field, charged upon the men there, who continued fighting desperately until nearly all were captured, some five or six officers and about 100 men alone escaping. * * * There was no surrender about it."

General Jackson says: "Delayed by difficulties at the bridge over the North Fork, which the Federals had made an effort to burn, Colonel Flournoy pushed on with Companies A, B, E and K, of the 6th Virginia Cavalry, and came up with a body of the enemy near Cedarville, about five miles from Front Royal. This Federal force consisted of two companies of cavalry, two pieces of artillery, the 1st (Federal) Regiment, Maryland Infantry, and two companies of Pennsylvania infantry, which had been posted to check our pursuit.

"Dashing into the midst of them, Captain Grimsley, of Company B, in advance, these four companies drove the Federals from their position, who soon, however, reformed in an orchard on the right of the turnpike, when a second gallant charge being made upon them, the enemy's cavalry was put to flight, the artillery abandoned, and the infantry, now thrown into confusion, surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

"In this successful pursuit our loss was twenty-six killed and wounded. Among the killed was Captain Baxter, of Company K, while gallantly leading his men in the charge."

Colonel Flournoy in his report says: "The enemy had fired the bridge across North river, which delayed the pursuit. Four companies of the 6th crossed the river in time to overtake the enemy at Cedarsville, about three miles up the pike, where they had formed to receive the charge. Company E, Captain C. E. Flournoy, was ordered in front and on the left; Company K, Captain Baxter, and

Company A, Captain Dulaney, to the right, and Company B, Captain Grimsley, directly up the turnpike.

COMPANY B.

"Company B was first upon the enemy, and charged most gallantly right through their lines, breaking them and throwing them into confusion. This company was supported by Company E from the left, and Companies K and A on the right. The enemy was driven from this position, but soon reformed in an orchard on the right of the turnpike, where these companies again charged and put them to complete route.

"When the charge was commenced, their cavalry took to flight. The two pieces of artillery were abandoned and taken, and nearly the entire infantry force taken prisoners.

"Company D, Captain Richards, and Company I, Captain Row, came up in time to engage in the pursuit. The other companies of the 6th and 2d Regiments were prevented from coming in time to take part on account of the difficulty in crossing the bridge, which alone prevented their taking the most active part in the fight.

"The officers and men engaged acted with the greatest intrepidity and courage, executing every order with promptness, and gained a complete victory over the enemy."

In his report of the fight at Winchester, after referring to the absence of the cavalry under Generals Ashby and George H. Steuart, and the failure of the latter to pursue the enemy promptly when ordered to do so, on the ground that the order did not come through General Ewell, under whose immediate command he was, General Jackson says:

"There is good reason for believing that, had the cavalry played its part in this pursuit as well as the four companies under Colonel Flournoy two days before in the pursuit from Front Royal, but a small portion of Banks' army would have made its escape to the Potomac."

The reports of some of the subordinate Federal officers engaged in this fight are somewhat amusing, inasmuch as they estimate one attacking force all the way from 3,000 to 10,000 men, and one even says that we attacked them with these overwhelming numbers, carrying a black flag, and giving no quarter—this in the face of the fact that no one ever saw a black flag in Virginia during the war, and of the further fact that we took alive about 700 prisoners, which shows

under what mental and optical delusion some people may labor during the excitement of such an occurrence, or else, what deliberate lying they will do in order to make their own part in the affair appear as great as possible.

This article has been written simply in vindication of historical truth, and in justice to the heroic dead and of the living, as well.

In further verification of the foregoing, I refer to Judge Grimsley, of Culpeper, Va., and Colonel R. H. Dulany, Welbourne, Va.

JOHN C. DONOHOE.

Hughesville, Va., May 8, 1896.

[From the Philadelphia *Times*, March 14, 1896.]

A PARALLEL FOR GRANT'S ACTION.

Here is a Comparison of his Campaign in 1864 and Lee's in 1862.

THEIR STRATEGY WAS SIMILAR.

And the Losses Incurred in the Wilderness and the Subsequent Battles were About on a Par with Lee's Losses in the Seven Days' Battle and Those Succeeding it. Leslie J. Perry's Interesting Argument.

When General Grant, having been made lieutenant-general, came East and assumed direction of the armies operating against Richmond, the war had been in progress three years; about a dozen great battles had been fought between the two principal Virginia armies, in which alone the aggregate losses in killed and wounded were over 90,000; half as many more had fallen in scores of lesser actions—all to no purpose, for, notwithstanding the fact that perhaps equal losses had been inflicted on the Confederates, the situation of the beligerents in Virginia remained substantially the same as when the first battle of Bull Run occurred in 1861.

Retaining Meade in command of the Army of the Potomac, but casting his personal fortunes with that magnificent but unfortunate

army, Grant inaugurated a campaign against Lee which involved a succession of bloody battles hardly paralleled in modern warfare, in which the Confederate commander, almost constantly acting on a careful defensive, to husband his rapidly failing strength, was barely able throughout this terrible summer to hold his own and protect Richmond. By thus always fighting behind fortified lines and taking few chances, Lee was enabled to inflct far greater losses on the Union army than his own sustained. But, nevertheless, the Confederate losses were also quite large. Confederate bulletins and newspapers from time to time announced the repulse of the Yankees with "great slaughter," and showered enthusiastic praises upon the brave and brilliant defense their great leader was making against overwhelming numbers, yet the Union army day by day drew nearer and nearer Richmond, and the very terseness with which, after the first trial of strength with Grant, the heretofore bold and dashing Confederates hugged their breastworks, was evidence that they were cowed and dismayed by this new order of warfare. Grant at once detected this after the Wilderness; he asserted to his government that Lee was already whipped, and that it was impossibie to get a battle out of him in the open. Grant pressed the fighting with such ferocity and persisted in it with such bull dog tenacity that he began to be stigmatized by his enemies North and South as a "butcher."

It is my purpose to indulge in some speculations concerning this campaign, and the Union losses, comparing them with other campaigns of the war, and then let the reader form his own conclusions as to whether Grant's eventual success was dearly bought or otherwise. The period of which I shall treat is the forty-one days beginning with the battle of the Wilderness, on the 5th of May, and ending with the crossing of the James on the 15th of June, 1864. The fighting, beginning on the 5th, was almost continuous throughout the month of May, but practically ended with the battle of Cold Harbor on the third of June. The total Union losses in all the battles of this period in killed and wounded (I do not include prisoners, as they are not counted in the butcher's bill), was follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Wilderness, 2 days	2,246	12,037	14,283.
Spotsylvania, 14 days	2,725	13,413	16,138
North Anna, Cold Harbor, etc., 24 days	2,436	11,811	14,247.
Total, 41 days	7,407	37,261	44,668.

The campaign in which these losses were made may be truthfully

described as a series of seige operations, alternating with flank movements toward Richmond to turn the Confederates out of fortified positions too strong and too well defended to be broken through. But Lee, who was an able engineer officer, having always the inner line, found it easy again to interpose and throw up new defenses. This process was repeated four different times—first at Spotsylvania, then at the North Anna river, again at Cold Harbor, and finally in front of Petersburg.

It is not necessary to my purpose to discuss the Confederate losses in these operations further than to say that they also were quite heavy. There is no complete return of them, but subordinate reports leave no room for doubt that at the Wilderness, where Lee at first assumed the offensive, there were not less than 10,000, and perhaps as many as 12,000 killed and wounded; around Spotsylvania between 8,000 and 10,000; North Anna, Cold Harbor, etc., about 5,000. I think the total may be fairly stated at 25,000 men. The The fighting, it will be seen, was not all one-sided. Even the Confederate fortified lines were several times pierced by fierce attacks, and the safety of Lee's entire army momentarily imperiled.

The Wilderness is generally assumed to have been a drawn battle, but in fact it was a Union triumph. Grant had not actually driven Lee from the field, but he had maintained himself south of the river, offering, if not again delivering battle. While safely covering his own capital, Grant still menaced the enemy's, for he held the roads leading south, and at once actually proceeded to advance further into the interior of Virginia. He had held the enemy at bay, inflicting such staggering blows as to at last change the policy of that enemy from a hitherto generally successful offensive-defensive into a purely and very careful and timid defensive one. More, General Grant had destroyed the illusion in the Union army that Lee was absolutely infallible and that the Rapidan was a sort of Chinese wall which could not be successfully passed while Lee defended it. This was a victory in itself. Just one year previously Lee had boldly attacked Hooker on this same ground and disastrously defeated and driven him back across the Rappahannock. Hooker's forces in the Chancellorsville campaign were greater by 20,000 than Grant's in the Wilderness, while Lee's were about the same in both. At Spotsylvania Hancock broke through the Confederate breastworks and captured many prisoners. Feeble attempts of the Confederates at Spotsylvania, North Anna, and Bethesda Church to take the offensive were easily repulsed, and with considerable loss.

In short, in this campaign the Union army was handled with a boldness and confidence unknown in its previous history, and with a success in the presence of R. E. Lee which surprised those to whom his name had been a terror for three years. All expectation of outmanœuvering and defeating the superior Federal army in the open had evidently been put aside, though it is plain Lee had confidence that he could repeat the Chancellorsville episode when he marched on Grant in the Wilderness. His previous successes in this favorite field against large armies gave him ground for such expectation. But the cyclone tactics of the Confederate leader of 1862–'3 were now completely reversed. True, Lee was largely outnumbered, but not so largely as at Chancellorsville.

It is not likely that many favorable openings were afforded by General Grant for promising attack, but in the numberless movements at Spotsylvania of corps back and forth, it seems strange that Lee did not make an opportunity with his old-time skill to strike effectively, but here he preferred a strict defensive, a policy in marked contrast with the bold advance at the Wilderness on May 5, and Longstreet's attack on the 6th.

Grant's style of fighting was a new sensation on this front. The partisans of defunct Federal generals previously cleaned out by Lee, who prognosticated disaster, were silenced by Grant's advance; opposition journals and the supporters of McClellan, who had declared that the war was a failure, spread exaggerated lists of killed before the country for political purposes. Through such agencies there was created a popular impression that Grant's warfare was utterly devoid of sense or science; that by mere weight of numbers and through sheer stolidity he was maintaining a losing fight; that General Lee—a great military genius—was constantly outgeneraling him, watchfully biding his time and from behind impregnable breastworks shooting down the Union troops like pigeons almost at will, while losing very few himself. Cheap historians afterward followed these lines. Many ignorant people are still of that impression, especially those who have read only the earlier histories and have depended upon sensational newspaper accounts for their knowledge of the war, written before the contemporaneous official reports of both sides were accessible.

Never was there a greater mistake. Lee had previously been lucky in his adversaries; now he had met one who understood his business; who like himself knew how to weigh relative chances; who knew when his army was licked and also when it wasn't; who,

seconded by Meade, knew how to spread an army out and fight it properly, and who did not lose his head when merely repulsed and rush away in retreat, under the impression that all was lost. No such series of rapid and able—even brilliant—manœuvres as those around Spotsylvania were seen on any other battle-field of the war. They were skilfully met; they had to be to save the Confederate army.

It is natural that this continuous fighting and these heavy losses should have had the effect to somewhat impair the morale of the Union army, yet seemingly the troops charged the Confederate breastworks at Cold Harbor, with Richmond in sight, as bravely as they did those at Spotsylvania. Grant never abandoned the offensive from first to last, and was constantly feeling for the weak spot in his adversary's armor.

Now for my parallel. The distinguished Confederate leader, General R. E. Lee, was appointed to the command of the Army of Northern Virginia after the battle of Fair Oaks, where his predecessor, General Joseph E. Johnston, was wounded. For the purpose of loosening McClellan's hold on Richmond General Lee began a series of operations on the 25th of June, 1862, known as the Seven Days' battles, in which he succeeded in driving off the Union general and relieving Richmond from the menace of immediate attack. In these battles the Confederates acted on the offensive, and were precipitated against the Union positions by their commander day after day with a persistent energy bordering on desperation. Their losses were frightful. In the first battle at Beaver Dam Creek on the 26th of June, some 18,000 Confederates charged a strong line held by McCall's single division and were repulsed with ease, with a loss of about 3,000 men, killed and wounded, McCall's killed and wounded amounting to less than 400, all told. The battle of Gaines' Mill followed on the 27th, the Confederates attacking a strong line and eventually winning a victory, but at great cost of bloodshed. Other battles followed, McClellan retreating to the James, where again the Confederates made desperate efforts to break the Union lines at Malvern Hill, but were signally repulsed, with a loss of not less than 6,000 killed and wounded, the Union army suffering not half as much.

After this series of bloody battles, in which Lee lost 19,739 men, killed and wounded, to McClellan's 9,796, Lee marched toward the Rappahannock, attacking Pope at Cedar Mountain, again at Bull Run and Chantilly, and finally pressing the Union army back into

the fortifications about Washington. He then invaded Maryland, but was attacked at South Mountain on the 14th of September, and again at Antietam on the 17th, where, acting on the defensive, he was enabled to inflict heavy losses on McClellan, but was also badly shattered himself and forced to retire across the Potomac. Shortly after he fell back behind the Rappahannock, through sheer exhaustion, to recuperate and rest his army, which had been incessantly toiling and fighting with splendid valor since the 26th of June.

In these various battles Lee's losses were as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Seven days battles	3,478	16,261	19,739.
Cedar Mountain	347	929	1,276.
Second Bull Run	1,740	7,372	9,112.
Antietam	1,863	9,339	11,202.
Total	7,428	33,901	41,329.

The Confederate returns of losses in these operations are incomplete and unsatisfactory. For several of the lesser battles, in which perhays, 3,000 or 4,000 men were lost, no reports of losses whatever appear. The Confederates did not report their slightly wounded by a special order of Lee himself. It is demonstrated that the total losses of Lee in these campaigns were not less than 45,000 men killed and wounded, and the reports contain internal evidences that they probably exceeded the total of 50,000. The aggregates shown above are approximately correct, so far as they go, and for the Seven Days' battles are undisputed.

Around Richmond, Lee, like Grant, forced the fighting against a partially fortified enemy, and held his men up to the necessary work with the same tenacity of purpose that characterized Grant's operations from the Wilderness to the James. His losses fully equaled and probably exceeded Grant's. Lee's bloody assaults at Beaver Dam Creek and at Malvern Hill were even more unjustifiable by any apparent military necessity than Grant's assaults at Cold Harbor, and they were just as costly in human blood. Every man he lost at Antietam was a waste of life, because he had no need to fight that battle.

Yet no man has risen up to stigmatize the brilliant Confederate leader as a "butcher." It is true that Lee had temporarily relieved Richmond, beaten Pope, captured Harper's Ferry, and made a good fight at Antietam—all brilliant episodes doubtless, as they added greatly to his military reputation. But summing all up after

his forced retreat across the Potomac, who can point out any real, tangible advantage attained for his cause by all these bloody sacrifices? His victories over McClellan and Pope were disappointing, but they did not shake the determination of the North, or for one moment unsettle its purpose to crush the rebellion.

He had inflicted on the enemy losses less than his own army had sustained, except in prisoners; the long, unceasing strain of battle, with its harassments and its killings, had brought his once formidable army to so low a state of morale and discipline that there was well-grounded fear of its total dissolution by wholesale desertion and straggling after Antietam, if we may believe General Lee's own statements and those of D. H. Hill and others. September 22d, five days after the battle, his total infantry force present for duty was officially stated at only 35,757. Lee telegraphed Secretary Randolph September 23d, that "unless something is done the army will melt away."

In short, at this time the Confederate outlook was gloomy. The fortunes of the Confederacy were then at a lower ebb, in my opinion, than at any other period of its existence, except during the last few months prior to the final collapse in 1865. Its army was reduced to a frazzle by its frightful losses, and other causes far more more dangerous to its existence; the object of its chief general's campaign had been defeated and his weakened army thrown back upon the defensive. And what was worse, notwithstanding Lee's apparent successes, which had set the South delirious with joy, while he had thus been sensibly growing weaker, his adversary, constantly gaining in strength, was now confronting him more numerous and powerful, more confident and determined than ever. McClellan's effective army shortly after Antietam had increased to over 150,000 men. Lee was relatively worse off than at the beginning of his series of brilliant operations. All the reinforcements added to Joe Johnston's army in June had disappeared into the grave, the Southern hospitals or deserted to their homes.

Mere stupidity largely contributed to Lee's principal successes, whereas in Grant's advance upon Richmond, the Confederate defense, from first to last, was conducted with consummate ability. And note the difference in results. Lee lost 45,000 men and gained no permanent advantage, whereas Grant, after losses not exceeding the other's, permanently fastened himself upon the very throat of the rebellion, and just eleven months from the time he set forth he had accomplished his object in its complete overthrow to recompense

the country for its sacrifices. It is highly probable he would have made even a shorter campaign of it had he been in command instead of McClellan after or previous to the battle of Antietam.

LESLIE J. PERRY.

Washington, March 4th, 1896.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, April 19, 1896.]

COMPANY D, CLARKE CAVALRY.

History and Roster of this Command, Which Fought Gallantly.

On the 19th day of April, 1861, just thirty-five years ago to-day, this company marched to Harper's Ferry. In the fall of 1859, many of the members of this organization belonged to the Clarke Guards which went to Harper's Ferry to take old John Brown, the forerunner of a large crusade, whose subsequent fate is known to all. Virginia had, on the 17th of April, 1861—two days before—passed the ordinance of secession, cast the die, crossed the Rubicon, and called upon her sons to keep her escutcheon untarnished. It was in response to this action that this company of as gallant and true spirits as ever went forth to battle, found itself at Harper's Ferry. Colonel J. E. B. Stuart took charge of it and all the cavalry, and Brigadier-General Thomas J. Jackson, was in command of all the forces there collected.

IN A GLORIOUS CAUSE.

The people of the original thirteen States believed in State sovereignty—that the government they formed had no power to coerce one of their number for any purpose. The Southern people were educated in the belief that the allegiance of the citizen was first due to his State, and that in any conduct between his Commonwealth and the United States, or any other country, his place was at her side—"at her feet he should kneel, and at her foe his gun should be pointed." Thus believing, we resented the insolence of a people who denounced the constitution as a league with the devil and a covenant with hell, by resuming our original independence. The splendid achievements of the gallant sons of the South in the long and

bitter struggle that ensued in consequence thereof constitute a theme that will continue to evoke the admiration of mankind to the remotest ages. From the time when Joshua led the mighty hosts of Israel down to the present time the pages of history tell of no military performances more brilliant, no fortitude more enduring, no cause more devotedly followed to the last extremity of possible success. Wherever the banner of the Confederacy floated, there followed a lion-hearted host of as gallant and intrepid souls as ever joined the ranks of war, and went forth to battle for what they knew to be right. Neither privation, disaster, sickness, nor death appalled them, and where their standard pointed they followed with a heroism unsurpassed, and so long as nations endure will the story of their exploits be told with admiration.

HISTORY OF THE COMPANY.

With this prelude it is proper to say that the object of the writer is to give a brief history of one company, concerning which he knows somewhat of its officers and its members, their names, and the battles in which they participated. As I look back now through the vista of years, from Harper's Ferry to Appomattox, and from Appomattox to 1896, I see more clearly the glories in the lustre of their deeds, feel more satisfied than ever of the righteousness of our cause, and wonder how it was possible that we should have failed. It was a beautiful day that Company D set out to go to Harper's Ferry and save the arsenal there. The trees had put on their loveliest robes, the fields were clothed in the choicest verdure and the Blue Ridge smiled majestically, while the sparkling Shenandoah reflected this fairyland back to its maker. Oh, sir, I doubtless exclaimed:

> "Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said,
> This is my own, my native land?"

THE ROSTER.

This company was officered by Captain Joseph R. Hardesty; William Taylor, First Lieutenant; David Hume Allen, Second Lieutenant, and George Mason, Third Lieutenant. The private soldiers were:

Lewis Ashby, Buckner Ashby, George Ashby, Shirley C. Ashby, John H. Anderson, Milton B. Anderson, Jacqueline R. Ambler,

Jonah Bell, James D. Bell, John W. Bell, William H. Brown, John S. Blackburn, Charles H. Brabham, John Barbee, Carter Berkeley, Thaddeus Baney, William Bonham, Isaac Bonham, M. R. P. Castleman, Robert H. Castleman, James R. Castleman, John T. Crowe, H. Clay Crowe, John Carper, Henry Catlett, F. H. Calmes, Marquise Calmes, Nathaniel B. Cooke, John Dearmont, Thomas Dearmont, Peter Dearmont, Thomas Dement, Horace P. Deahl, Eugene Davis, Albert S. Davis, Strother Davis, James B. Everhart, J. Newton Everhart, O. R. Funsten, Kinloch Fauntleroy, C. Powell Grady, Temple Grady, Edward K. Grady, William Gibson, James Lee Griggs, George Harris, John Harris, Charles W. Hardesty, William T. Hammond, Taliaferro Hunter, William H. H. Harley, Madison Hite, Irvine Hite, Fontaine Hite, Cornelius Hite, William Hite, Solomon Hibbs, A. J. Harford, Robert Jones, Walter Janney, John M. Johnson, James Kiger, J. M. Keller, Charles Kendall, John Kerfoot, Henry D. Kerfoot, John N. Kitchen, Thomas Kneller, Louis C. Kneller, Jacob S. Kneller, Charles E. Kimball, C. C. Larue, James J. Larue, William A. Larue, Gilbert C. Larue, H. L. D. Lewis, Robert H. Lewis, James Lindsey, William Laughlin, Joseph S. Mason, Douglas Mason, Frank Moore, William Moore, A. Moore, Jr., Nicholas Moore, William C. Morgan, John Morgan, Jr., Robert P. Morgan, Daniel Morgan, F. Key Meade, David Meade, Jr., Harry Meade, Matthew Fontaine Magner, Newton Mannel, William Taylor Milton, Carey Mitchell, Robert Mitchell, Ship Mitchell, John Milburn, H. Bounce Michie, E. C. Marshall, Jr., D. Holmes McGuire, Burwell McGuire, John P. McMurry, Edward McCormick, Hugh H. McCormick, Cyrus McCormick, Province McCormick, Jr., Nicholas McClure, Hierome L. Opie, John N. Opie, Edward Osborn, Philip H. Powers, George Page, William B. Page, Archie C. Page, Robert N. Pendleton, Dudley D. Pendleton, Frank S. Pennybacker, George Ritter, Thomas J. Russell, William A. Russell, Bennett Russell, George Ruggles, Joseph H. Shepherd, George C. Shepherd, Champe Shepherd, Jr., George H. Sowers, Charles H. Smith, Treadnell Smith, Jr., J. Rice Smith, Warren C. Smith, George H. Shumate, Thomas Shumate, Edward Shumate, Henry Stephenson, R. C. Steptoe, Leonard Swartzwelder, Philip Swann, William Simpson, Benjamin Trenary, Thomas Timberlake, Pius Francis Topper, James Thompson, George Turner, James Watson, John Watson, Thomas Watson, John R. White, Thomas Williams, Eustace Williams, Charles A. Ware, Jacquiline S. Ware, Nathaniel Willis, George Waesche, Carlisle Whiting,

James D. Wiggington, Joseph N. Wheat, Frank W. Wheat, Charles H. Wager, and Count F. Zoulasky.

THE FIRST CAVALRY REGIMENT.

This company, with eleven other companies, constituted then the 1st Regiment of cavalry, and was commanded by Colonel J. E. B. Stuart until after First Manassas, in which battle he charged Heintgelman's Zouaves with Company D and the Loudoun company. The gallant Lieutenant David H. Allen was killed, F. H. Calmes and Magner were wounded in this charge, and nine men of the Loudoun company killed. Shortly after that battle Stuart was made brigadier-general, and Captain William E. Jones was made colonel, and assumed command of the regiment. The 6th was then forming, and lacked two companies of having a quota, while the 1st had too many. In August, 1861, General Stuart permitted the Clarke and Rockingham companies to decide by vote whether to go to the 6th or remain in the 1st. They elected to go into the 6th, which was officered by Colonel Charles W. Field, Lieutenant-Colonel Julian Harrison, Major J. Grattan Cabell, and John Allen, Adjutant. Shortly afterwards Colonel Field was made brigadier, and assigned to the command of an infantry brigade. Major Thomas Stanhope Flournoy was then made colonel, and, after the Valley Campaign, resigned. Cabell E. Flournoy, who had been made major, became lieutenant-colonel, and John Shack Green, major. In 1863 Julian Harrison was made colonel, but being badly wounded the day he took command, at Brandy Station, never came back again to the regiment.

Cabell E. Flournoy then became colonel, Green, lieutenant-colonel, and Daniel T. Richards, major. After a while Green resigned, Richards became lieutenant-colonel, and D. A. Grimsley, major. After Colonel Cabell Flournoy was killed (two days before second Cold Harbor), Richards became colonel, Grimsley, lieutenant-colonel, and J. A. Throckmorton, major. These gallant officers were leading their men to battle when the banner of the Confederacy was forever furled.

COMPANY'S SEVERAL CAPTAINS.

On the morning of the 21st of July, 1861, Captain Hardesty resigned the command of Company D, and Hugh M. Nelson was elected captain, but, not being present, Lieutenant William Taylor, than whom no braver man ever lived, led the company through that

terrible day. At the reorganization, in April, 1862, Daniel T. Richards was elected captain, Joseph McK. Kennerly first lieutenant, R. Owen Allen second lieutenant, and Cumberland-George Shumate third lieutenant. After Richard's promotion Kennerley became captain, and in 1864 Nathaniel Willis was elected first lieutenant and William Moore second lieutenant, but they never received their commissions. Of all the officers that commanded Company D, from April, 1861, to April, 1865, but three are living, and Colonel Grimsley is the only survivor of the commanding officers of the 6th Virginia Cavalry Regiment. Our brigade commanders were Generals James E. B. Stuart, Fitzhugh Lee, Beverley H. Robertson, William E. Jones, Lunsford L. Lomax and William H. Payne. General Stuart was afterwards made major-general, commanding all the cavalry, which he did up to the time of his death, at Yellow Tavern, May 12, 1864, when glorious, dashing Wade Hampton was made lieutenant-general, commanding the Cavalry Corps, Army of Northern Virginia. These thunderbolts of war, having carved their epitaphs with gleaming sabres, need no encomiums nor recitals of their chivalrous deeds. High up in the dazzling niche of fame and glory, they stand as peers of Ney, Murat, and Henry of Navarre.

FOUGHT IN MANY BATTLES.

In all of the following named battles Company D figured conspicuously, and left some of its members upon nearly every field: Capture of Brigadier-General William S. Harney at Harper's Ferry in April, 1861; Falling Waters, Bunker Hill, First Manassas, Second Manassas, Mine Run, Catlett's Station, Auburn, Warrenton Springs, Seven Days' battles around Richmond, First Cold Harbor, Second Cold Harbor, Hanover Junction, around McClellan, First Brandy Station, Second Brandy, Third Brandy, Stevensburg, Beverley Ford, Raccoon Ford, Slaughter Mountain, Culpeper, Trevillian, Weyer's Cave, Port Republic, Cross Keys, Front Royal, White Post, Winchester, Berryville, Charlestown, Halltown, Leetown, Shepherdstown, Williamsport, South Mountain, Hanover (in Pennsylvania), Gettysburg, Rollsburg, Moorefield, Fairmount, Grafton, Petersburg (in West Virginia), Wilderness, Yellow Tavern, Reams' Station, advance down the Shenandoah Valley in 1864, Winchester the second, Cedar Creek, Millford, Luray, Newtown, Back Road, New Creek, Lacey Spring, Beverley (in West Virginia), Five Forks, and from Petersburg to Appomattox. In the march around McClellan,

Company D went with the 1st Regiment, and was the only one from the 6th Regiment that participated, and that happened by permission of General Stuart, with whom it and the Rockingham companies were great favorites. In the battles around Richmond, Company D and the Rockingham company were the only two companies from the 6th that took part. After General Jackson had whipped Banks, Fremont and Shields in the Valley, he left to pay his respects to McClellan. He took with him the Clarke and Rockingham companies, and left the rest of the cavalry in the Valley. In all but one of these sixty-one engagements there was hard fighting, resulting in the killing, wounding or capture of some of the company. When General Harney was captured there was no fighting. The train was stopped and surrounded, and Lieutenant (afterwards Major) Samuel J. C. Moon, of Clarke, went into the car, brought him out, and sent him to Richmond. There were numerous skirmishes and raids incident to war, of which, for want of space, no mention has been made. At Gettysburg, the 6th Regiment, being on the right of our army, got in the rear of Meade, and had a hard hand-to-hand fight at a place called Fairfield with the 6th United States Regulars, in which the Regulars were badly whipped and fled ingloriously from the field. We thought that Meade was falling back, for everything was in the greatest confusion, and were grievously surprised when we were ordered back ourselves.

THE CAVALRY WAS THERE.

Many writers have been trying to find out where the cavalry was at Gettysburg, and if they had been with this writer, who was trying his level best to obliterate Meade's army, they would have known at least where the 6th Regiment of Virginia Cavalry was. Thank God I have no inclination to criticise any officer, corps, division, brigade, regiment, or company in the whole service, for they deserve and will wear crowns of immortelles. My object, as stated, has been to show to the world in a straightforward and truthful manner the part performed by the 170 men who comprised the Clarke Cavalry, Company D, Sixth Regiment. These were all young men, the flower of Clarke, who kept themselves mounted, clothed, and armed throughout the war. Fifty-two of them only are left, one of whom is sixty-seven years old, and of the remaining fifty-one very few have yet reached or passed sixty. Every one of these survivors were at different times prisoners, and nearly every one of them wears a scar.

One hundred and eighteen "sleep their last sleep; they have fought their last battle, and no sound can awake them to glory again."

A company that had 170 men, fought fifty-seven pitched battles, had eighty-three men killed, thirty-five to die after the war, and fifty-two, by no fault of theirs, left wondering how it was possible that they escaped, surely deserve the credit of having tried to do their duty.

On the fourth Thursday in May, 1861, the ordinance of secession was ratified by the people of Virginia by 130,000 majority. It did not wait for that, but had been in the field for more than a month previous to said action. For four long years 500,000 of us, all told, on land and sea, fought more than three millions of soldiers, and absolutely wore ourselves out whipping them. We fought the good fight; we kept the faith—are still keeping it—and when the problems, anxieties, and disappointments that absorbed our energies shall concern us no more, and when we, too, shall have passed away, and those for whom we fought, bled, and died shall have succeeded us in the paths of life and duty, may it, oh may it, be said of us:

Their deeds shine brighter than the stars,
For daylight hides them never;
Brave men are stars that never set,
They shine in Heaven forever.

JOSEPH H. SHEPHERD.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, May 3, 1896.]

GENERAL GEORGE E. PICKETT.

His Appointment to West Point A Letter from his Widow.

A Richmond friend of Mrs. General Pickett recently wrote to her, making an inquiry as to how her husband received his cadetship appointment. She answered that General Pickett was appointed by Congressman John G. Stuart, of the Third Illinois District, and she explained that Mr. Lincoln induced Stuart to make the appointment. Mr. Lincoln was then associated in the practice of the law with young Pickett's uncle, Mr. Andrew Johnston, who was later of the firm of Johnston, Boulware and Williams, of Richmond. Mr. Johnston,

who has been dead for a number of years, was a great and good man, and was highly esteemed by the President, who, it is said, desired him to become Governor of this State, to guide it in its return to the Union. After giving her friend the information sought, Mrs. Pickett goes on to say:

I have before me a letter from Mr. Lincoln, dated "February 22d, Springfield, Ill.," which, though a private letter, bespeaks his superlative greatness, his accurate perception, and the bent, even at that early period, of his wonderfully penetrating mind. "I have just told the folks here in Springfield," he said, "on this, the 110th anniversary of the birth of him whose name, mightiest in the cause of civil liberty—still mightiest in the cause of moral reformation—we mention in solemn awe, in naked, deathless splendor, that the only victory we can ever call complete will be that one which proclaims that there is not one slave or one drunkard on the face of God's green earth. Recruit for this victory." At the close of the letter he said: "Now, boy, on your march, don't you go and forget the old maxim, that 'one drop of honey catches more flies than a thousand gallons of gall.' Load your musket with the maxim and smoke it in your pipe."

Pickett remembered, for there was not a drop of gall in his whole life. He was the sweetest and the tenderest of natures, and no man was more beloved of men, women and children of every degree and station than the high-toned, chivalrous man, the peerless soldier, General George E. Pickett. The soldiers of both armies alike hold his name in reverence; and so modest was he withal, that in his as yet unpublished report of the battle of Gettysburg, the grandest charge ever made in the annals of any history, he, in his unselfishness and devotion to his soldiers, and freedom from personal ambition, gives all the credit, all the glory, all the honor of the charge to "my men, my brave Virginians," as he called the soldiers of his dear old division. In the grand unity of truth he gave to them all their dues, and in silence tempered with mercy the errors of others.

Pickett had the keenest sense of justice, the most sensitive consciousness of right, and the moral courage to do it. When General Grant, whose capacity for friendship has rarely been equalled, offered Pickett the marshalship of the State of Virginia, Pickett took counsel of his conscience and judgment, and, in thanking General Grant, said: "As high even as you are held in the hearts of your people, you cannot afford to do this thing for me, and as poor and as much in need as I am of it, I cannot afford to take it from you." And

grandly and unmurmuringly and alone Pickett fought his way through poverty, though there were no honors, no emoluments within the gift of a loving people that could not have been his.

I said Pickett was beloved by all, and so he was; but there are a wee, sma' few of those of his own comrades of the Lost Cause more fortunate of life than my large-hearted soldier, who are envious and jealous of the glory of his short, unfinished life, and one of these of the wee-sma' few, in his lecture on "The Closing Days of the Confederacy," when he spoke of the deciding battle of the war (Gettysburg), scarcely mentioned the name of the dead soldier, who so zealously obeyed "Old Peter's nod," and led the immortal charge over those sacred heights, on through the passage of the Valley of Death; passed the lines of battle, up the ridge to the crest, from the crest down the descent over half a mile of open, exposed ground, within canister and schrapnel range; through rushing shot and shrieking shell; on, on through flame and smoke, till the heights were taken; the battle won, and then, alas! Pickett's men, hemmed in on all sides and for want of support, had to fight their way back through equal danger over the blood-conquered ground, over the mangled, mutilated bodies of their dead and wounded comrades, while the army, as all the world knows, though ordered to come to Pickett's support, calmly looked on at the terrible massacre. If Pickett had had the other two brigades of his division (Corse and Jenkins), but of this more anon. Lincoln afterwards, in his dedication address on this sacred field, said: "Here this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." The glory of Pickett's charge at Gettysburg (where, out of 4,500 brave Virginians, 3,393 were killed and wounded), will shine, in spite of Gordon's jealousy, with ever-increasing lustre as time rolls on, and the purity of patriotism is more and more refined and the truth more and more clearly revealed. Pickett's men loved and honored him, their great, tender-hearted commander, who did not offend them by superiority, but inspired them with confidence; and to-day a whole nation of true soldiers everywhere give veneration to his memory, admiration for his dauntless courage, his grand and enduring qualities of head and heart, and love for love.

In Richmond, Va., on Gettysburg Hill, beneath the glistening ivy leaves, and midst the bloom of flowers, in reach of the scent of the distant clover as it sways and swings with the golden buttercups, anon touching and making a tangle of purple and green and gold,

George Pickett, who never planted a thorn in any one's life, or took from it one blossom, sleeps alongside of his soldiers.

I have written in haste, and so have said more than I had thought to, the recording of one memory reviving another. And now with cordial greeting and my best love to you and to my people, and to Pickett's men everywhere,

I am yours faithfully, always,

La Salle Corbell Pickett.
(Mrs. General Pickett.)

GENERAL GRANT'S CENSOR.

Rawlins Warned Him That He Must Stop Drinking.

A Galena, Ill., special says: Thousands of persons from this and adjoining States met in Galena to-day to honor the memory of General Grant, and to take part in the reunion of the survivors of the 12th Illinois Regiment. The reunion was held in the court-house room, where thirty-five years ago Captain Grant presided when Co. F, of the 12th, organized.

After listening to several brief addresses, the veterans adjourned to Turner Hall, where the formal exercises were held. General John C. Black, of Chicago, delivered the principal address. It was an eloquent eulogy of General Grant as soldier and statesman. He held that the greatest achievement of his career was the signing of the treaty of Washington, which had rendered war between the United States and Great Britain almost impossible, and which, General Black, predicted, would be followed by international arbitration under America's lead.

RAWLINS' WARNING TO GRANT.

H. D. Estabrook, of Chicago, read at the banquet to-night a letter from General John A. Rawlins to General Grant, written during the siege of Vicksburg, which, it was said, had never appeared before, and of the existence of which very few knew. The original is in the possession of a citizen of Galena. The letter is dated: "Before Vicksburg, Miss., June 6, 1863, 1 o'clock A. M.," and reads:

"The great solicitude I feel for the safety of this army leads me to mention what I hoped never again to do—the subject of your drink-

ing. This may surprise you, for I may be, and I trust I am, doing you an injustice by unfounded suspicion; but, if I am in error, it had better be on the side of this country's safety than in fear of offending a friend.

"I have heard that Dr. D———, at General Sherman's, a few days ago, induced you, notwithstanding your pledge to me, to take a glass of wine, and to-day, when I found a box of wine in front of your tent, and proposed to move it, which I did, I was told you had forbid its being taken away, for you intended to keep it until you entered Vicksburg, that you might have it for your friends, and to-night, when you should, because of the condition of your health, if nothing else, have been in bed, I find you where the wine-bottle has just been emptied, in company with those who drink, and urge you to do likewise, and the lack of your usual promptness and decision and clearness in expressing yourself in writing, conduces to confirm my suspicion.

MUST STOP OR FAIL.

"You have full control over your appetite, and can let drinking alone. Had you not pledged me the sincerity of your honor early last March, that you would drink no more during the war, and kept that pledge during the campaign, you would not have stood first in the world's history as a successful leader. Your only salvation depends upon your strict adherence to that pledge; you cannot succeed in any other way.

"As I have before stated, I may be wrong in my suspicions; but if one sees that which leads him to suppose a sentinel is falling asleep on his post, it is his duty to arouse him; and if one sees that which leads him to fear the general commanding a great army is being seduced to that step which he knows will bring disgrace upon that general, and defeat to his command; if he fails to sound the proper note of warning, the friends, wives and children of those brave men, whose lives he permits to remain thus in peril, will accuse him while he lives, and stand swift witnesses of wrath against him in the day when all shall be tried.

"If my suspicions are unfounded, let my friendship for you and my zeal for my country be the excuse for this letter; and, if they be correctly founded, and you determine not to heed my admonitions and prayers of this hasty note by immediately ceasing to touch a single drop of any kind of liquor, no matter by whom asked or under what circumstances, let my immediate relief from duty in this department be the result."

ROSTER OF KING WILLIAM ARTILLERY.

A roster of the King William Artillery, or Carter's Battery, as mustered in on the 2d day of August, 1861, with present census.

Thomas H. Carter, Captain.

Pat. H. Fontaine, first lieutenant; Ro. S. Ryland, second lieutenant; Walter A. Harris, second lieutenant.

William B. Newman, first sergeant, killed at Seven Pines; Alexander F. Dabney, second sergeant, killed at Sharpsburg; William P. Carter, third sergeant; James H. Henry, fourth sergeant.

William E. Hart, first corporal, dead; Edward J. Cocke, second corporal, killed at Seven Pines; Spencer R. Warring, third corporal; Thomas J. Bosher, fourth corporal.

Privates—Augustine Atkins, Richard H. Allen, James W. Allen, dead; William H. Butler, dead; Benjamin H. Beadles, dead; James C. Beadles, killed at Gettysburg; Robert S. Beadles, died in prison; B. C. Burnett, R. Cobb, Andrew M. Dunston, Wm I. Douglas, Benjamin F. Davis, killed at Salesford; John M. Davis, killed at Bloody Angle; Wm. A. Davis, Jas. N. Eubank, Wm. M. Ellett, dead; John D. Edwards, Obediah Ellett, John W. Griffin, killed at Bloody Angle; F. Guthrow, H. E. Grubbs, John W. Gill, dead; John Hay, Robert Harper, dead; Richard Hilliard, dead; Jas. Hilliard, dead; Alex. C. Hilliard, dead; Richard Heath, Richard Hendrick, dead; Wm. Heath, Isaac A. Hughes, dead; Philip A. Fontaine, dead; Thos. S. Jones, killed at Seven Pines; Robert B. Johnson, killed at Seven Pines; Edward King, Mordecai A. Kelley, killed at Gettysburg; Festus King, Miles C. King, Lucian M. King, Egbert E. Lipscomb, dead; Bernard A. Lipscomb, Robert H. Lipscomb, Landon B. Lipscomb, James T. Lipscomb, dead; Richard Landrum, dead; Benjamin A. Littlepage, William Littlepage, William Luckhard, killed at Seven Pines; James Martin, dead; James R. Madison, Charles J. Madison, dead; George B. Morrison, dead; Andrew J. Moore, George Lee Munyon, dead; James D. Moore, William Madison, dead; Robert E. Mitchell, killed at Seven Pines; J. S. Neal, Benjamin C. Nelson, dead; William A. Nicholson, James Nicholson, killed at Bloody Angle; James W. Powers, John W. Page, died at Seven Pines; Lewis H. Pemberton, killed at Sharpsburg; John W. Pemberton, killed at Sharpsburg; William A. Prince, died in prison; Richard P. Pollard, dead; Lucian D. Robinson, Richard T. Redford, dead;

R. C. Robinson, William Robins, Douglas Rider, Samuel N. Roberts, dead; Philip Sale, at Soldiers' Home; John Smith, dead; Joshua Styles, Giles Tignor, dead; Harvey Terry, John Tuck, James T. Tuck, dead; Roy Temple, George T. Tibbs, Robert Tibbs, dead; William C. Tuck, dead; Edward J. Tuck, S. C. Trimen, Henry Tate, H. M. Turner, dead; J. M. Virlanda, dead; H. W. Vias, dead; William Warfield, dead; John P. Woody, dead; E. S. Woody, dead; James White, W. S. Whitlock, killed at Seven Pines; G. H. Wiltshire, dead; James G. White, and Thomas C. Jones.

Summary—Dead, 37; killed at Seven Pines, 8; at Sharpsburg, 2; at Gettysburg, 2; total 48. Died in prison, 2; killed at Salesford, 1; killed at Bloody Angle, 3; total 6. Total dead, &c., 54. Living, 53. Grand total, 107.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, August 2, 1896.]

RUNNING OF THE BLOCKADE.

Interesting Narrative of Mr. James Sprunt.

VANCE KEPT NORTH CAROLINA SOLDIERS WELL PROVIDED.

A Sketch of Captain Maffitt.

The following is contributed to the Charlotte (N. C.) *Observer* by James Sprunt:

There exist no records from which computation might be made of the amount and value of goods, arms, supplies and stores brought into the Confederate States during the four years of blockade-running. But the Hon. Zebulon B. Vance, who was Governor of North Carolina during a large part of the war, has put on record the share, in part, of our State in blockade-running, from which a general idea of the amount of values may be obtained. In an address before the Association of the Maryland Line, delivered in Baltimore February 23, 1885, he said: "By the general industry and thrift of our people, and by the use of a number of blockade-running steamers, carrying out cotton and bringing in supplies from Europe, I had collected and distributed, from time to time, as near as can be gathered from

the records of the Quartermaster's Department, the following store: Large quantities of machinery supplies; 60,000 pairs of hand cards; 10,000 grain scythes; 200 barrels of bluestone for wheat-growers; leather and shoes to 250,000 pairs; 50,000 blankets; gray-wolled cloth for at least 250,000 suits of uniforms; 12,000 overcoats, ready-made; 2,000 best Enfield rifles, with 100 rounds of fixed ammunition; 100,000 pounds of bacon; 500 sacks of coffee for hospital use; $50,000 worth of medicines at gold prices; large quantities of lubricating oils, besides minor supplies of various kinds for charitable institutions of the State. Not only was the supply of shoes, blankets, and clothing more than sufficient for the supply of the North Carolina troops, but large quantities were turned over to the Confederate Government for the troops of other States. In the winter succeeding the battle of Chickamauga I sent to General Longstreet's Corps 14,000 suits of clothing complete. At the surrender of General Johnston the State had on hand, ready-made and in cloth, 92,000 suits of uniforms, with great stores of blankets, leather, etc. To make good the warrant on which these purchases had been made abroad, the State purchased and had on hand in trust for the holders, 11,000 bales of cotton and 100,000 barrels of rosin. The cotton was partly destroyed before the war closed, and the remainder, amounting to several thousand bales, was captured, after peace was declared, by certain officers of the Federal army.

President Davis in a message to Congress, said that the number of vessels arriving at only two ports—Charleston and Wilmington—from November 1st to December 6, 1864, had been forty-three, and that only a very small portion of those outward bound had been captured; that out of 11,796 bales of cotton shipped since July 1, 1864, but 1,272 bales had been lost. And the special report of the Secretary of the Treasury in relation to the same matter, stated that there had been imported at the ports of Wilmington and Charleston since October 26, 1864, 3,632,000 pounds of meat, 1,507,000 pounds of lead, 1,933,000 pounds of saltpetre, 546,000 pairs of shoes, 316,000 pairs of blankets, 520,000 pounds of coffee, 69,000 rifles, 97 packages of revolvers, 2,639, packages of medicines, 43 cannon, with a very large quantity of other articles. In addition to these articles many valuable stores and supplies had been brought in by way of the northern lines, by way of Florida, and through the port of Galveston, and through Mexico across the Rio Grande. From March 1, 1864, to January 1, 1865, the value of the shipments of cotton on Confederate Government account was shown by the Secretary's

report, to have been $5,296,000 in specie, of which $1,500,000 had been shipped out between July 1st and December 1, 1864.

THE FLEET.

A list of vessels which were running the blockade from Nassau and other ports in the period intervening between November, 1861, and March, 1864, showed that eighty-four steamers were engaged; of these, thirty-seven were captured by the enemy, twelve were totally lost, eleven were lost and the cargoes partially saved, and one foundered at sea. They made 363 trips to Nassau, and sixty-five to other ports. Among the highest number of runs made were those of the *R. E. Lee*, which ran twenty-one times; the *Fanny*, which ran eighteen times; the *Margaret* and *Jessie*, which performed the same feat. Out of 425 runs from Nassau alone (including schooners) only sixty-two, about one in seven, were unsuccessful. As freights were enormous, ranging from $300 to $1,000 per ton, some idea may be formed of the profit of a business in which a party could afford to lose a vessel after two successful trips. In ten months of 1863, from January to October, ninety vessels ran into Wilmington. During August, one ran in every other day. On the 11th of July, four, and five on the 19th of October.

With the termination of blockade running, the commercial importance of Matamoras, Nassau, Bermuda, and other West India ports departed. On March 11, 1865, there were lying in Nassau thirty-five British blockade-runners which were valued at $15,000,000 in greenbacks, and there were none to do them reverence. Their occupation was gone; their profits at an end, and some other service must be sought to give them employment.

A description of Nassau at the time of which I write will be both interesting and instructive. It was a busy place during the war, the chief depot of supplies for the Confederacy, and the port to which most of the cotton was shipped. Its proximity to the ports of Charleston and Wilmington gave it superior advantages, whilst it was easily accessible to the swift, light-draft blockade-runners, all of which carried Bahama bank pilots, who knew every channel. The United States cruisers having no bank pilots, and drawing more water, were compelled to keep the open sea. Occasionally one of the latter would heave to outside the harbor, and send in a boat to communicate with the American Consul, but their usual cruising-ground was off Abaco light. Nassau is situate upon the island of

New Providence, one of the Bahamas, and it is the chief town and capital of the group. All of the islands are surrounded by coral-reefs and shoals, through which are channels, more or less intricate. The distance from Charleston to Nassau is about 500 miles, and from Wilmington about 550. Practically they were equi-distant; for blockade-runners bound for either port, in order to evade the cruisers lying in wait off Abaco, were compelled to give that headland a wide berth by keeping well to the eastward. The wharves of Nassau were piled high with cotton during the war, and huge warehouses were stored full of supplies for the Confederacy. At times the harbor was crowded with lead-colored, short-masted, rakish-looking steamers; the streets alive with the bustle and activity of the day, swarmed with drunken revellers at night. Almost every nationality on earth was represented there, the higher wages ashore and afloat tempting adventurers of the baser sort, and the prospect of enormous profits offering equally strong inducements to capitalists of a speculative turn. Monthly wages of a sailor on board a blockade-runner was $100 in gold, and $50 a bounty at the end of a successful trip; and this, under favorable circumstances, would be accomplished in seven days.

A GOOD RECORD.

The captains and pilots sometimes received as much as $5,000, perquisites. On board the government steamers the crew, which was shipped abroad, and under the articles regulating the "merchant marine" received the same wages as were paid on board the other blockade-runners, but the captains and subordinate officers of the government steamers who belonged to the Confederate States Navy, and the pilots who were detailed from the army for this service received their pay in gold. There is a singular fact connected with the blockade-running vessels which speaks well for the Confederate States naval officers. Though many commanded a large number of these vessels, yet down to August 16, 1864, and perhaps later, only one blockade-running vessel was lost.

The Cape Fear pilots have long maintained a standard of excellence in their proffession most creditable to them as a class, and as individuals. The story of their wonderful skill and bravery in the time of the Federal blockade has never been written, for the survivors are modest men, and time has obliterated from their memories many incidents of this extraordinary epoch. Amidst impenetrable darkness, without lightship or beacon, the narrow and closely watched

inlet was felt for with a deep-sea lead as a blind man feels his way along a familiar path, and even when the enemy's fire was raking the wheel-house, the faithful pilot, with steady hand, and iron nerve, safely steered the little fugitive of the sea to her desired haven. It might be said of him, as of the Nantucket skipper, that he could get his bearings on the darkest night by a taste of the lead.

Let us recall the names of some of the noted blockade-runners and their pilots, so well known in Smithville about thirty years ago.

A HERO INDEED.

Steamer Cornubia, afterwards called the Lady Davis, C. C. Morse; steamer Giraffe, afterwards known as the R. E. Lee, Archibald Guthrie; steamer Fannie, Henry Howard; steamer Hansa, J. N. Burruss; steamer City of Petersburg, Joseph Bensel; steamer Old Dominion, Richard Dosher; steamer Alice, Joseph Springs; steamer Margaret and Jessie, Charles W. Craig; steamer Hebe, George W. Burruss; steamer Advance, C. C. Morse; steamer Pet, T. W. Craig; steamer Atalanta, Thomas M. Thompson, steamer Eugenia, T. W. Newton; steamer Ella and Annie, J. M. Adkins; steamer Banshee, Thomas Burruss; steamer Venus, R. Sellers; steamer Don, William St. George; steamer, Lynx, J. W. Craig; steamer Let Her Be, T. J. Burruss; steamer Little Hattie, R. S. Grissom; steamer Lilian, Thomas Grissom; steamer North Heath, Julius Dosher; steamer Let Her Rip, E. T. Burruss; steamer Beauregard, J. W. Potter; steamer Owl, T. B. Garrason, steamer Agnes Fry, Thomas Dyer; steamer Kate, C. C. Morse; steamer Sirene; John Hill; steamer Calypso, C. G. Smith; steamer Ella, John Savage; steamer Condor, Thomas Brinkman; steamer Cognetta, E. T. Daniels; steamer Mary Celeste, J. W. Anderson. Many other steamers might be named, among them the Brittanica, Emma, Dee, Antonica, Victory, Granite City, Stonewall Jackson, Flora, Havelock, Hero, Eagle, Duoro, Thistle, Scotia, Gertrude, Charleston, Colonel Lamb, Dolphin, and Dream, whose pilots' names may or may not be among those already recalled. These are noted here from memory, for there is no record extant. All of these men were exposed to constant danger, and one of them, J. W. Anderson, of the Mary Celeste, died a hero's death. Shortly after leaving the port of Nassau on his last voyage, he was stricken down by yellow-fever. The captain at once proposed to put the ship about and return to the Bahamas, but his brave pilot said: "No; you may proceed; I will do my best to get you into port, even if it

costs my life." On the second day he was delirious; but as the little ship approached one dangerous coast he regained consciousness, and spoke of his home and the loved ones awaiting his coming at Smithville. When darkness drew on his fever increased and his condition seemed hopeless, but with the heart of a lion he determined to take his post on the bridge, and when the soundings were reached he was carried bodily to the wheel-house, where, supported by two of the sailors, he guided by feeble tones the gallant ship through devious ways, until the hostile fleet was passed. As the well-known lights of his home appeared in the distance his voice grew stronger, but tremulous, for he felt that he was nearing the end of life's voyage. "Starboard; steady; port; ease her; stop her: let go your anchor—" with the rattle of the chains he sank to the desk, overcome by the dread disease, and on the following morning breathed his last.

"For, tho' from out our bourne time and place,
The flood may bear me far;
I hope to see my pilot face to face,
When I have crossed the bar."

Along the coast may still be seen the storm-beaten hulls of some of the unfortunate ships, which, after weathering many a gale at sea, came to grief within sight of a friendly port. The *Beauregard* and the *Venus* lie stranded on Carolina Beach; the *Modern Greece* near New Inlet; the *Antonica* on Frying Pan Shoals; the *Ella* on Bald Head; the *Spunkey* and the *Georgiana McCall* on Caswell Beach; the *Hebe* and the *Dee* between Wrightsville and Masonboro. Two others lie near Lockswood's Folly Bar, and others whose names are also forgotten, lie half buried in the sands, where they may remain for centuries.

JOHN N. MAFFITT.

Among that devoted band of United States navy officers whose home and kindred were in the South at the outbreak of the war, and who resigned their commissions rather than aid in subjugating their native State, there were none braver nor truer than our own Captain John N. Maffitt, who, yielding to necessity, severed the strong ties of a service under the old flag in which he had long distinguished himself, and relinquished not only a conspicuous position directly in the line of speedy promotion to the rank of admiral, but sacrificed at the same time his entire fortune, which was invested in the North, and which was confiscated shortly afterward by the Federal Government.

The biography of this modest hero has never been written. I give the following brief sketch prepared by the accomplished Mrs. J. N. Maffitt, at the time of her distinguished husband's decease, who is now writing a more extended memoir of his career.

John Newland Maffitt was born at sea on the 22d of February, 1819. His parents were Rev. John Newland Maffitt and Ann Carnicke, his wife. Rev. Mr. Maffitt, having determined to emigrate to America, left Ireland with his wife and family late in January or early in February, and landed in New York on the 21st of April, 1819, his son having been born on the passage. Their first home was in Connecticut. When John was about five years old, his uncle, Dr. William Maffitt, who had accompanied them to America, visited his brother, Rev. Mr. Maffitt, and finding him in straitened circumstances, begged to adopt their son, and on the consent of his parents, Dr. Maffitt brought his nephew to Fayetteville, N. C. Some years were passed in this happy home of his boyhood, when his uncle determined to send him to school at White Plains, N. Y. As a little stripling, he started by the old-time stage coach, with his ticket tacked to his jacket, and on his arrival much curiosity was shown to see the little boy who had come alone from his distant southern home. He remained at this school, under Professor Swinburn, until he was thirteen years old, when his father's friends obtained for him a commission as midshipman in the United States Navy. His first orders were to the St. Louis, then at Pensacola Navy-Yard. His second sea orders were to the Constitution, the flagship of the squadron, commanded by Commodore Elliott, then fitting out for the Mediterranean. This cruise lasted three years and six months, and it was during that time that most of the incidents related in the Nautilers took place. Having been appointed aide to Commodore Elliott, the young midshipman had many advantages not otherwise obtainable. He was next ordered to the frigate Macedonian as past midshipman, and it was while in port at Pensacola, Fla., that he had his first experience of "yellow jack," and came near losing his life. His first independent command was the Gallatin. He commanded also the brig Dolphin and several others. He was engaged, under Professor Bache, for some years on the coast survey, and was of great service to the professor, which the latter was not slow to acknowledge. Much of their work was in the harbors of Nantucket, Charleston, Wilmington, and Savannah. A channel in the harbor of Charleston still bears his name. In one of the numerous published sketches this tribute is paid to him:

A SPLENDID OFFICER.

"He was always considered one of the best officers and most high-toned gentlemen of the old service. For some years he was connected with the coast survey, and Professor Bache, the head of the department, declared that if Maffitt was taken from him he could not supply his place in all the navy." He added: "He is not only a thorough seaman and game to the backbone, but a man of superior intellect, a humorist of rare excellence, and one of the most delightful companions. There is no position in his profession which Maffitt is not capable of filling with honor and distinction." This was his acknowledged position when the war began. His last command while in the service of the United States, was the *Crusader*. He was very successful in capturing slavers. In January, 1860, while in command of the *Crusader*, and also acting as paymaster of the vessel, he was ordered by the Secretary of the Navy to proceed to Mobile, and there cash a check on the collector of the port for prize money due the officers and crew. The city being agitated at the time by the Ordinance of Secession, just passed by the State of Alabama, he was forced to put his vessel in a defensive position, and soon retired to the port of Habana. Here, failing to negotiate with the bank of Habana for the funds requisite for the necessities of the vessel, he advanced from his private funds the money needed to work the steamer to New York, where he was ordered. He turned the steamer over to the proper authorities and went to Washington to settle his accounts. His cash accounts received no attention, though for several months he was a constant applicant for settlement. A trying position was his, as his wife was dead, and his children had no kinsfolk, save in North Carolina; if he remained in the navy his property, which was all in the North, would be secured to him. All that appealed to his interests lay there. Love of his profession was entwined with every fibre of his being. On the other hand, he would have been compelled to fight against his people—perhaps fire upon the very home that had sheltered him, and was then sheltering his defenceless children. One night a friend informed him that his name was down for arrest the next day. His affections drew him South. His resignation having been accepted, he felt free to leave and cast his fortunes with his people. His war record is well known. During the earlier part of the war he commanded the celebrated Confederate corvette *Florida*, and the ram *Albemarle*, rendering most valuable service

to the Confederacy. Afterwards he was in command of the blockade-runners *Lillian*, *Owl*, and other vessels engaged in bringing supplies and munitions of war for the South. At the close of the war, his property confiscated and he an exile, he applied for a command in the English merchant service, and was given the command of a fine steamer, running between Liverpool and Rio Janeiro. She was subsequently sold to the Brazilian Government and used as an army transport. While conveying several hundred soldiers to the scene of action, small-pox broke out among them, and as the well refused to nurse the sick, or bury the dead, those duties devolved upon Captain Maffitt, and a fearful time he had—"sickening to the last degree," he described it—and the soldiers were mutinous and without discipline. He retained command of this steamer for eighteen months, when, at the urgent entreaty of his family, he resigned the command and came home. He soon after purchased a small farm near Wilmington, where he resided for nearly eighteen years. In July, 1885, he moved to Wilmington. For a year or two his health had been failing, but he determined to make a brave effort to retrieve his fortunes and provide for his young family. The disappointment of that hope was too great a shock for his feeble frame; the thought that he could no longer provide for his loved ones broke his heart. After an illness of more than three months, he died on the 15th of May, 1886, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, April 26, 1896.]

THRILLING INCIDENT.

Capture of the Federal Steamer Maple Leaf.

A BOLD DASH FOR LIBERTY.

The Plot Carried Out in a Minute. Then the Confederate Yell. Narrow Escapes from being Retaken. A Series of Adventures. Experiences in the Dismal Swamp.

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

There occurred many incidents during the late war between the North and the South that are worthy of mention, and among which none are more so than the *coup de main* enacted on the coast in

1863, by a squad of Confederate prisoners. This interesting incident is known to but few outside of those who took a part in this daring feat. It was on the 8th of April, 1863, that Colonel J. U. Green (who, by the way, is a scion of the Old North State, and is now an honored and highly-respected citizen of Covington, West Tennessee), with four or five other soldiers of the "Lost Cause," was captured near Memphis by the Federal forces, then holding possession of that part of the State. These prisoners were sent on a circuitous route to Norfolk, Virginia, there to remain until an opportunity offered to send them along with other prisoners to Fort Delaware. I here give an extract from the diary of Colonel Green:

"Three days after our arrival at Norfolk, all the prisoners marched on board of the good steamer *Maple Leaf*, bound for Fort Delaware. Her officers were white men; her crew consisted of negroes entirely, about fifty or sixty in number. We were under the charge of a lieutenant and twelve soldiers, armed with muskets. The two sets of prisoners mingled together, and it soon became known among them that the steamer was to be captured. A low, bulky, heavy-set man, with iron-grey hair and beard was pointed out as captain, whose orders were to be obeyed. He was a sailor and had been captured on board, and in command of a Confederate gunboat. He was suffering at the time from a severe wound. He had laid his plans while in prison; had appointed a staff to assist him, and now there was nothing to do but to win our crowd to his purpose, which was an easy job, and by the aid of his staff officers to assign every man to his duty. There were thirteen soldiers, including the lieutenant, and about as many white men, officers of the steamer. We were divided into squads of three, each squad to deal with a guard distinctly pointed out. This took about two-thirds of our number. The remaining third was held together under a captain, to overawe the crew, and to give help wherever needed. The signal of attack was to be the ringing of the great bell of the steamer by our captain. All these arrangements were quietly make while we steamed out of James river into Chesapeake bay. Norfolk, the forts on either side of the channel, and the gunboats were all left to our rear. In front of us and to our right, was Cape Henry, and to our left Cape Charles. About the middle of the afternoon, every squad being as convenient as possible to the guard to be attacked, and all chattering among themselves or with the guards, suddenly the great bell began to rattle as if the steamer were on fire. In a twinkling each squad

sprang upon its man and bore him down upon the deck, and wrenched his gun from his hands. There was but one blow struck. The squad with which I acted was to seize a sentinel at the foot of the gangway. Our position was unfavorable for very quick action, and our man proved to be a stalwart, brawny Irishman. He was brave, and put forth all his strength. We could not bring him down, nor get possession of his musket until one of our men, who had finished his job, came running with a musket poised over his shoulder and gave him a blow between the eyes with the butt which settled him effectually.

ONLY A MINUTE'S WORK.

"In one minute's time from the ringing of the bell, the steamer was in our possession. The crew of negroes surrendered without a blow. The old 'Confederate yell' rang out that evening on the Chesapeake as it never will again. The steamer did not change her course or stop running until night. The officers and crew, all under the command of our captain, did just what they were ordered to do. The prow of the steamer had been turned gradually to the south, and when night came on we ran her aground in shoal-water, about two hundred yards from land. We had one large skiff in which to go ashore, which was manned by two stalwart negroes. The lieutenant and steamer's officers were taken ashore the first trip of the boat, and held as hostages for the good behavior of the crew while we were landing. We all got ashore safely. Captain Semmes, son of our illustrious admiral, was nominated as commander-in-chief of this 'forlorn hope.' He was elected by acclamation. Captain Holmes, of the Louisiana Crescents, was elected second in command. All that we knew of our whereabouts was that we were on the beach of Virginia or North Carolina, south of Cape Henry. A light could be seen in the distance, evidently coming through the window of some human habitation. We sent a man to investigate, and he reported that the house was occupied by a woman and her children. Her husband was in the Confederate army. This information gave us great relief. The woman seemed much alarmed, but when she learned that ninety-four Confederate officers had just escaped all alarm and caution fled from her face. She told us we would be safe if we could reach the Dismal Swamp. 'But,' said she, 'Currituck sound is between you and the swamp, and there is not a boat nearer than thirty miles. If you can get to the salt-works, thirty miles down the coast, and surprise the men in camp, you can take their boats and

cross the sound before the Federal cavalry can overtake you.' She supplied us with a cart and horse to carry two or three day's rations which we had taken from the steamer when we left it. We at once made haste to depart for the salt-works.

SUFFERED FOR WATER.

"We suffered much for water on our forced march that night, as we could not get a drop to allay our thirst. We arrived at the salt-works, completely fagged out, a little after sun-up the next morning. We surprised the men at the salt-works while at their breakfast, and seized them and their boats without opposition. After satisfying our thirst and partaking of breakfast we decided to rest that day and cross the sound in the captured boats that night. When night came on we entered our captured boats, pushed off, and hoisted sail, but having contrary winds we toiled all night, making twelve miles across Currituck sound. As we reached the shore after daylight a large schooner was seen bearing down upon us, but we were in shoal water and she could not approach us nearer than one hundred yards. We made a display of our twelve guns, and not knowing but that we were well armed, she sped on her way; the captain, however, leaning over the bulwark, hailed us through his speaking trumpet: 'Boat, ahoy! who is that on board?' One of our men, putting his hands to his mouth, shouted back: 'A fishing party.' In a few minutes we were all ashore, lying down on the pine straw, within five miles, as we learned of Currituck Courthouse, N. C. We discovered a house half away, its occupants being only a woman and little children. Our Confederate uniforms were a sufficient introduction. She agreed at once to put us in communication with the 'guerrillas,' and told us to remain where we were until she could find us a guide, and also voluntarily proposed, with the help of her neighbors, to cook us breakfast. She left us lying under the pines, some sleeping and others discussing the situation, while she went to find a guide for us and procure assistance in furnishing breakfast for ninety-four hungry men. Presently, the woman was seen dashing through the bushes in our direction, at full speed. She told us that a regiment of Federal cavalry had just passed her front gate on the hunt for us. She pointed out the direction of the Dismal Swamp, assuring us that we would be safe there, and to wait there until she could send us help. In a march of about half a mile we found the swamp and entered its profound solitude. We placed a sentinel on the outskirts

of the swamp to watch. After waiting several hours our sentinel appeared among us with a man in citizen's dress, armed with a shot gun and two navy-sixes in his belt. The woman had sent this man to us as a guide. He had been born and reared around the swamp, and was familiar with the grounds.

RESUMED THE MARCH.

"We took up our march in single file, the guide in advance. We were to cross the Pasquotank river half a mile from where we entered a road from the swamp. The guide then left us, taking a few men with him to fish up a boat from the bottom of the river, where it was kept concealed from the Yankees. The breakfast promised by the good woman, though late, soon followed, which we enjoyed as only men who had marched and toiled as we, could enjoy a square meal. We had no difficulty of getting all the rations we wanted after that, although we were dodging about the swamp and on its skirts for several days. Four regiments of cavalry had been sent out from Norfolk for the purpose of our recapture, but, by the aid of the loyal people of the Southern cause, and the utter impossibility of cavalry penetrating the swamp, we succeeded in eluding all efforts at our recapture.

"One evening, when near Camden Courthouse, N. C., we lay not far from the road, waiting for rations and the approach of night. We were surprised to see twelve or fifteen carts make their way to us, loaded in part with provisions, but in much larger part by women, both maids and matrons, who had come, they said, to look at a Confederate uniform once more. It had been more than a year since they had seen one. We met and talked with all the freedom of old friends who had met after a long separation. A dance was proposed, and, but for the lack of a fiddle, our company would have taken all the chances of capture for one hour's dance in Dismal Swamp with the Camden girls. Knowing that we would go through their town by night, they stayed and made the night's march with us, insisting that we should ride and they walk, but no man was found so ungallant as to accede to such a proposition. The captain of the guerrillas lived in the neighborhood of Camden, had heard of our escape and landing, and had hurried immediately to our help. He was a handsome young man, of about thirty yeas of age, unmistakably a gentleman, as was easily to be seen by his deportment; a man of considerable culture, a lawyer by profession; had been a member of the State

Legislature of North Carolina; knew the swamp and its surroundings, and seemed to be possessed of all knowledge that could be of use to us in our situation. We turned over all authority to him, and began our march around the swamp instead of across it. We crossed five rivers low down near their mouths, where they widened out near the sea. The Chowan was crossed much higher up. The captain had boats of his own sunk in all of these rivers except the Chowan, and they were brought up from the bottom for our accommodation.

IN COMPARATIVE SAFETY.

"The western end of the Seaboard and Roanoke Railroad was in the hands of the Confederates, and strongly guarded, hence the crossing of the Chowan placed us in comparative safety. There was a large plantation on the western shore of the Chowan where we crossed. The opposite side was dense swamp. When we came near to the river we could see a gunboat lying on the opposite shore, near a farm house. It was the only place where we could cross, or rather where we could command a boat in which to cross. It was necessary to use a little strategy to get the gunboat out of the way, so that we could cross over. Our guide said that he would try his hand on her. He left us and was gone for several hours. He returned a little before night, and in a few minutes the boat got up steam and moved off up the river, and was soon out of sight around the bend. The guide had sent a messenger to report to the captain of the boat that the escaped prisoners were endeavoring to cross above, and the boat went in search of them. As soon as the gunboat had turned the bend we resurrected a boat, and in a short time we landed across, just at dusk. The owner of the plantation was a Tory, so our guide said. We demanded accommodations for the night. The next morning we pressed into service every mule, horse, and cart on the place, and made fast time over an open stretch of twenty-five miles to the railroad, which we reached about sundown. We boarded a train and reached Weldon, N. C., for late supper. The next morning we breakfasted at the Spotswood Hotel, in the city of Richmond. After breakfast, having improved our toilet as best we could under the circumstances, we proceeded in a body to the provost-marshal to report. General Winder, a large bodied, big-souled old soldier, was filling this position. We announced that we were escaped prisoners—captors of the *Maple Leaf*. He arose and gave expression to his admiration by shaking hands all around. He

wanted to hear all the particulars, and listened to the story as it was briefly related, shaking his fat sides with laughter at any amusing episode of the escape. As soon as the general was satisfied with our story, he ordered the quartermaster into his presence, and ordered him to furnish us with blank pay-rolls, and to immediately pay us off in full of indebtedness. We soon had our pockets full of money, and after spending the remainder of the day in seeing the sights, and adding to our wardrobes, we boarded a train and were soon with our old comrades again."

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, July 12, 1896.]

THE ROLL OF COMPANY "G," FORTY-NINTH VIRGINIA INFANTRY.

DANVILLE, VA., *June 27, 1896.*

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

I enclose you the roll of Company G, 49th Virginia Infantry, as of date February 21, 1865, for you to use or not use as you may think best. I was orderly sergeant of the company at the time, and have a copy of the roll. The company was made up of men from Rappahannock county, and as I have lived so remote from the county so long that I have no knowledge as to who are dead, I send it with only two marked dead that I know of.

Yours truly, H. J. MILLER.

Camp Godwin, near Sutherland Depot, Dinwiddie county, Va. Roll Company G, 49th Virginia Infantry, February, 21, 1865:

W. D. Moffett, captain, dead; W. J. Dudley, first lieutenant, dead; C. F. Miller, second lieutenant; M. R. Fristoe, third lieutenant; H. J. Miller, orderly sergeant; Jeffries Corder, first sergeant; D. S. Browning, second sergeant; O. R. Colbert, third sergeant; Henry Spicer, fourth sergeant; S. W. Harris, first corporal; J. R. Harrison, second corporal; Richard H. Browning, third corporal; James R. Byrd, fourth corporal; J. G. Alexander, John Amiss, Porter Berkeley, Samuel Baker, Albert A. Baggerly, Henry Baggerly, R. F. Bywaters, William Bishop, Edward Cary, George M. Cary, James H. Carter, Thomas J. Corbin, John W. Corbin, Judson A. Corbin, James H. Compton, W. D. Coleman, John Cooksey, John Deavers, Joseph E. Deavers, A. J. Dawson, William Estes, William Edes,

W. G. Grigsby, J. R. Garland, C. W. Gay, Albert F. Holland, R. F. Huffman, N. G. Hamner, Jamerson Hill, F. C. Hartley, Albert A. Hill, J. H. Kirby, James M. Maddox, Jessee J. Mills, W. H. Miller, L. D. Martin, James F. Martin, John G. Miller, Phillip C. Oden, Henry O'Neill, B. G. Payne, John A. Ricks, Joseph D. Ricks, Richard W. Robinson, Jesse W. Robinson, Andrew Spicer, Russell Settle, Jacob Settle, Haden Stonestreet, James W. Stonestreet, James D. Shackleford, C. C. Snead, W. H. Snead, J. B. Spicer, John W. Smith, Judson Settle, C. H. Settfiel, J. M. Trevillians, J. M. Taylor, N. T. Wash, Whorton, James T. Willett.

List of wounded, Company G, 49th Virginia Infantry, at Hatcher's Run, February 6, 1865:

John W. Corbin, Judson A. Corbin, Henry Baggerly, William Henry Miller, Henry O'Neill, R. W. Robinson, J. R. Harrison.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, July 5, 1896.]

WOUNDED AT WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

List of Those Left in the Hospital After the Battle of May 6, 1862.

WILLIAMSBURG, VA., *June 29, 1896.*

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

In view of the fact that there may be some members of each of the commands to which these comrades belonged, who are in ignorance of their fate and would be glad of this information, I send you for publication a list of those who were left wounded in Williamsburg, after the battle here on May 5, 1862. These names have been kindly furnished to and preserved by Magruder-Ewell Camp Confederate Veterans.

H. T. JONES.

List of the wounded Confederate soldiers left in the Baptist Church Hospital, at Williamsburg, Va., after the battle on the 5th of May, 1862:

William M. Richardson, lieutenant Company B, 17th Regiment, Virginia Infantry; died May 29, 1862, at Rev. T. M. Ambler's. Buried in the Episcopal churchyard; afterwards removed by friends.

William L. Rector, Company C, 11th Virginia Infantry; died May —, 1862.

James Keating, Company G, 17th Regiment, Virginia Infantry; died May 27, 1862.

J. B. Twyner, Company I, 3d Virginia Infantry; died May 21, 1862.

J. B. Penn, Company E, 17th Virginia Infantry; died May 19, 1862.

William I. Davis, Company C, 18th Virginia Infantry; died June 8, 1862. Buried at the cemetery near the residence of Mrs. George Morrison.

R. B. Caper, Company C, 11th Virginia Infantry; died May 19, 1862.

D. J. C. Jones, Company F, 11th Regiment, Virginia Infantry; died May 25, 1862.

James Barnett, Company F, 19th Regiment, Virginia Infantry; died June 4, 1862.

J. G. Crailey, Company F, 11th Regiment, Virginia Infantry; died May 27, 1862.

William Kinchloe, Company B, 8th Regiment, Virginia Infantry; removed from the residence of Sydney Smith to Fort Monroe, where he died in September, 1862.

P. W. Pannill, Company F, 7th Regiment, Virginia Infantry; died at Mrs. C. M. Maupin's June 30, 1862; buried at the cemetery.

R. A. Nelson, Company —, 4th Regiment, Virginia Infantry; died at the residence of Mrs. Richard Lively; buried at the cemetery.

I. N. Swann, Company A, 17th Virginia Infantry; died at the residence of A. G. Southall June —, 1862; buried at the cemetery.

Isaac Crew, discharged from hospital.

J. M. Weeks, Company D, 11th Regiment, Virginia Infantry; discharged.

William H. Jeffries, Company K, 18th Virginia Infantry; from Charlotte county.

G. P. Bailey, Company K, 13th Regiment, North Carolina Infantry; discharged from the residence of Mrs. Claiborne.

W. A. Walker, Company K, 13th Regiment, North Carolina Infantry; discharged.

A. Johnson, Company I, 6th Regiment, North Carolina Infantry; discharged.

W. H. Trainy, —— ——, 6th Regiment, North Carolina Infantry; discharged.

P. R. Wright, Company K, 13th Regiment, North Carolina Infantry; died May 20, 1862.

D. E. Coldfelter, Company E, 5th Regiment, North Carolina Infantry; discharged.

William Pitts, Company B, Palmetto Regiment, South Carolina; died in the Episcopal Church Hospital, May 15, 1862.

S. M. L. Sheeler, Company B, 5th Regiment, South Carolina; died June 18, 1862, at the residence of C. C. P. Waller. Buried in Episcopal churchyard.

R. H. Bardine, Company I, 4th South Carolina Regiment; died May 31, 1862, at the residence of A. G. Southall. Buried at the cemetery.

A. C. Sheon, Company A, 5th Regiment, South Carolina; discharged from the residence of John De Neufville.

W. M. Grier, Company F, 6th Regiment, South Carolina; discharged.

John Daisy, Company I, 8th Regiment, Alabama; died May 14, 1862.

O. H. Moore, Company C, 10th Regiment, Alabama; discharged.

T. J. Parr, Company I, 10th Regiment, Alabama; died October 7, 1862.

P. Dargan, Company I, 8th Regiment, Alabama; died May 24, 1862.

D. Safford, Company G, 14th Alabama Regiment Infantry; discharged from the residence of Mrs. King.

W. P. Everette, Company H, 9th Regiment, Alabama; died May 17, 1862.

W. F. Armistrong, Company B, 14th Regiment, Alabama Infantry; died May 15, 1862.

S. McCarley, Company I, 6th Regiment, Alabama Infantry; died May 25, 1862.

H. J. Summerline, Company B, 14th Regiment, Alabama Infantry; died May 18, 1862.

T. H. Moore, Company C, 10th Regiment, Alabama Infantry; died May 18, 1862.

D. H. Woolley, Company C, 10th Regiment, Alabama Infantry; died August 14, 1862.

G. M. Blackburn, Company B, 10th Regiment, Alabama Infantry; died May 27, 1862.

T. Sherman, Company A, 2d Regiment, Florida; died——— 22, 1862.

C. S. Fleming, Company B, 2d Regiment, Florida.

S. J. Shapply, Company H, 18th Regiment, Mississippi; discharged.

A. J. Bryan, Company I, 18th Regiment, Mississippi; discharged.

N. S. Patterson, Company B, 18th Regiment, Mississippi; discharged from the residence of H. T. Jones; since dead.

M. Tierney, Company C, 18th Regiment, Mississippi Infantry; discharged.

William Baldridge, Company D, 18th Regiment, Mississippi Infantry; died May 27, 1862.

R. Crawford, Company K, 14th Regiment, Louisiana; died May 27, 1862.

J. M. Carey, Company B, 14th Regiment, Louisiana; died May 18, 1862.

James Coyle, Company C, 14th Regiment, Louisiana; discharged.

D. C. Hindlestone, Company B, 2d Regiment, Florida.

John W. Lea, captain, 5th North Carolina; discharged from the residence of Colonel G. Durfey.

J. F. Hayse, lieutenant Company B, 5th North Carolina; died at the residence of Colonel Durfey.

Forney, colonel, Alabama; discharged from the residence of Mrs. Harriette Henley.

H. Jones, Company I, 19th Mississippi Regiment; discharged from the residence of Rev. Mr. Blain.

William Payne, major 7th Virginia Regiment; discharged from the residence of William S. Peachy.

L. Williams, colonel 1st Virginia Regiment; discharged from the residence of Mrs. Lucy Tucker.

S. Reeve, lieutenant 1st Regiment Virginia Infantry; discharged from the residence of Mrs. Lucy Tucker.

James Dooley, 1st Regiment Virginia Infantry; discharged from the residence of Mrs. Lucy Tucker.

V. Taliaferro, 11th Regiment Virginia Infantry; discharged from the residence of Mrs. Lucy Tucker.

W. L. Wingfield, Company D, 20th Regiment Virginia Infantry; discharged from the residenct of R. W. Hansford.

I. S. Wright, Company B, 8th Regiment Virginia Infantry; discharged from the residence of R. W. Hansford.

Captain Brown, died at the residence of R. W. Hansford, May 6, 1862.

C. H. McKnight, Company A, 17th Virginia Infantry; wounded and lost right arm. Recovered.

John Humphries, captain Company A, 17th Virginia Infantry; died in the Episcopal church at Williamsburg.

[From the Richmond (Va.) *Times*, July 18, 1896.]

DIDN'T WANT A PARDON.

A Characteristic Letter of General Jubal A. Early.

DISCLAIMED ALLEGIANCE TO UNCLE SAM.

Written Just After the War By the Old Confederate Who Never Surrendered—Facts Concerning the Bitter Contest.

The following letter was written by General Jubal A. Early, that ever unreconstructed Confederate, just after the close of the war, when he was preparing to leave for the city of Mexico. It contains many interesting facts concerning the war, and is thoroughly characteristic of the departed chieftain. It read as follows:

HAVANA, *December 18, 1865.*

To the Editor of the New York News:

Having seen it stated in several papers published in the United States that I am an applicant for pardon, I desire to say, through your columns, that there is no truth whatever in this statement. I have neither made nor authorized such application, and would not accept a pardon from the President of the United States if gratuitously tendered me without conditions or restrictions of any kind. I have nothing to regret in the course pursued by me during the war, except that my services were not of more avail to the cause for which I fought; and my faith in the justice of that cause is not at all shaken by the result.

I have not given a parole or incurred any obligation to the authorities of the United States, and I utterly disclaim all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the government of that country. I am a voluntary exile from my own country, because I am not willing to submit to the foreign yoke imposed upon it. All declarations attributed to me which are inconsistent with the above statements are entirely without foundation, and I hope there will be no further misapprehension as to my position.

The reports of the campaigns of 1864 and 1865 by Secretary Stanton and Lieutenant-General Grant, recently published, contain many erroneous statements, which do great injustice to the Confederate armies. The press in the Southern States is at present effectu-

ally muzzled by military rule, and the Confederate cause has no appropriate organ by which the ears of the world can be reached. The time will arrive, however, when a true history of the warfare can be written so as to enable foreign nations and posterity to do justice to the character of those who have sustained so unequal a struggle for all that is dear to man. In anticipation of that time, I will call attention to some facts which will show the tremendous odds the Confederate armies had to encounter.

Mr. Secretary Stanton's report shows that the available strength present for duty in the army with which General Grant commenced the campaign of 1864 was, on 1st of May, 1864, as follows:

The Army of the Potomac (under Gen. Meade)	120,386
The Ninth Army Corps (under Gen. Burnside)	20,780
Aggregate	141,166

Beside this, he says the chief part of the force designed to guard the Middle Department and the Department of Washington "was called to the front to repair losses in the Army of the Potomac," which doubtless was done before that army left the vicinity of Spotsylvania Courthouse, as General Grant says: "The 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th (of May, 1864) were consumed in manoeuvering and waiting for re-inforcements from Washington," and Mr. Stanton says the sending of these troops to the front caused the detaching from General Lee's army of the force under me to threaten Baltimore and Washington. The available strength of the forces in those departments, on the 1st of May, according to Mr. Stanton's report, was as follows:

In the Department of Washington	42,124
In the Middle Department	5,627
Aggregate	47,751

of which it may be safely assumed that at least 40,000 men were sent to the front, as General Grant says that when I approached Washington, the garrisons of that place and Baltimore were "made up of heavy artillery regiments, hundred days' men, and detachments from the Invalid Corps," and hence it became necessary to send troops from his army to meet me. This, therefore, made an army of over 180,000 men which General Lee's army had to meet before, as I will show, it had received any re-inforcements whatever. This estimate does not include the re-inforcements received in the

way of recruits from voluntary enlistments and the draft, which were entirely going on, nor does it include re-inforcements from the Northern Department and the Department of the East and the Susquehanna, where they were, by Mr. Stanton's showing, 15,344 available men for duty, the greater part of which, it is presumed, were sent to Grant, as, otherwise, they might have been brought to Washington to meet my force with more ease than troops from his army.

General Lee's army, at the beginning of the campaign, consisted of two divisions of Longstreet's Corps, Ewell's Corps, A. P. Hill's Corps, three divisions of cavalry and the artillery. I commanded, at different times during the campaign, Hill's and Ewell's Corps, and am, therefore, able to state very nearly the entire strength of the army. Ewell's Corps, to which I belonged, did not exceed 14,000 muskets at the beginning of the campaign. When I was placed in command of Hill's Corps on the 8th of May, by reason of General Hill's sickness, its effective strength was less than 13,000 muskets, and it could not have exceeded 18,000 in the beginning. Longstreet's Corps was the weakest of the three, when all the divisions were present, and the two with him had just returned from an arduous and exhausting winter campaign in East Tennessee. His effective strength could not have exceeded 8,000 muskets. General Lee's whole effective infantry, therefore, did not exceed 40,000 muskets, if it reached that number. The cavalry divisions were all weak, neither of them exceeding the strength of a good brigade. The artillery was in proportion to the other arms, and was far exceeded by Grant's, not only in the number of men and guns, but in weight of metal, and especially in the quality of the ammunition. General Lee's whole effective strength at the opening of the campaign was not over 50,000 men of all arms. There were no means of recruiting the ranks of his army, and no reinforcements were received until it reached Hanover Junction on the 23d of May. It was this force, therefore, which compelled Grant, after the fighting at the Wilderness and around Spotsylvania Courthouse, including the memorable 12th of May, to wait six days for reinforcements from Washington before he could move, and baffled his favorite plan of reaching Richmond. At Hanover Junction General Lee was joined by Pickett's Division of Longstreet's Corps, one small brigade of my division of Ewell's Corps, which had been in North Carolina with Hoke, and two small brigades, with a battalion of artillery, under Breckinridge. This force under Breckinridge, which General Grant estimates at 15,000, and which was subsequently united to mine at Lynchburg,

did not exceed 2,000 muskets. At Cold Harbor, about the 1st of June, Hoke's Division, from Petersburg, joined General Lee, but Breckinridge's force was sent back immediately after its arrival near that place, on account of the defeat and death of General William E. Jones, at Piedmont, in the Shenandoah Valley, and Ewell's Corps, with two battalions of artillery, was detached under my command on the morning of the 13th of June to meet Hunter. This counterbalanced all reinforcements. The foregoing statement, which fully covers General Lee's strength, shows the disparity of forces between the two armies in the beginning, and it was never lessened after they reached the vicinity of Richmond and Petersburg, but was greatly increased. The curious may speculate as to what would have been the result if the resources in men and munitions of war of the two commanders had been reversed, or if Lee's strength had approximated Grant's. Occupying a neutral position, as between the two Federal commanders, Grant and Butler, and certainly having no reason to admire the latter, I cannot but be amused at the effort of Grant, by the use of few flash phrases, to make Butler the scapegoat of all his failures.

The disparity between the forces of Sheridan and myself in the Valley campaign was even greater than that between Lee and Grant. My force, when I arrived in front of the fortifications of Washington on the 11th of July, 1864, was 8,000 muskets, three small battalions of artillery with about forty field pieces, of which the largest were twelve pounder Napoleons, and about 2,000 badly mounted and equipped cavalry, of which a large portion had been detached to cut the railroads leading from Baltimore north. General Grant says that two divisions of the 6th Corps and the advance of the 19th Corps arrived at Washington before I did, and Mr. Stanton says I was met there by the 6th Corps, a part of the 19th Corps under General Emory, and a part of the 8th Corps under General Gilmore. My force had then marched over 500 miles, marching at least twenty miles each day, except the day of the fight at Monocacy, when it marched fourteen miles and fought and defeated Wallace.

At the battle of Winchester, or Opequan as it is called by General Grant, my effective strength was about 8,500 muskets, the three battalions of artillery and less than 3,000 cavalry. Sheridan's infantry consisted of the 6th, 19th and Cook's Corps, composed one division of the 8th Corps and what was called the "Army of West Virginia." Some idea may be formed of the strength of the 6th Corps when it is recollected that the Army of the Potomac was composed of

three corps on the 1st of May previous, to-wit: the 2d, 5th, and 6th, and that its effective strength then was, according to Mr. Stanton's statement, 120,386. The same statement shows that the available strength of the forces in the "Department of West Virginia," on the 1st of May, 30,782, and most of the troops in this department were concentrated in the Valley. Documents subsequently captured showed the strength of the 19th Corps to have at the battle of Winchester, not less than 12,000 effective men. Official reports captured at Cedar creek showed that Sheridan's Cavalry, on the 17th of September, two days before the fight, numbered 10,100 present for duty. His artillery was vastly superior to mine in number of men and guns. The 6th Corps alone must have exceeded my entire strength, unless it had met with such tremendous losses as to reduce its strength at least three-fourths. From all the information received and from documents captured at Cedar creek, I am satisfied that Sheridan's effective infantry strength at Winchester could not have been less than 35,000 muskets, and it was probably more. The odds against me, therefore, were fully four to one, and probably more. His very great superiority in cavalry was very disadvantageous to me, as the country was very open and admirably adopted to cavalry operations, and my cavalry, being mostly armed with Enfield rifles without pistols or sabers, could not fight his, whose equipment and arms were complete. At the fight at Cedar creek I had been re-enforced by one division of infantry (Kershaw's) numbering 2,700 muskets, one small battalion of artillery and about 600 cavalry; which about made up my losses at Winchester and Fisher's Hill. I went into this fight with 8,500 muskets, about forty pieces of artillery and about 1,200 cavalry, as the rest of my cavalry, which was guarding the Luray Valley, did not get up in time, though ordered to move at the same time I moved to the attack. Sheridan's infantry had been recruited fully up to its strength at Winchester, and his cavalry numbered 8,700, as shown by the official reports captured. The main cause why the route of his army in the morning was not complete was the fact that my cavalry could not compete with his and the latter, therefore, remained intact. He claimed all his own guns that had been captured in the morning and afterward recaptured, as so many guns captured from me, whereas I lost only twenty-three guns, and the loss of these and the wagons which were taken was mainly owing to the fact that a bridge, on a narrow part of the road between Cedar creek and Fisher's Hill, broke down, and the guns and wagons, which latter were not numerous, could not be

brought off. Pursuit was not made to Mount Jackson, as stated by both Grant and Stanton, but my troops were halted for the night at Fisher's Hill, three miles from Cedar creek, and the next day moved back to New Market, six miles from Mount Jackson, without any pursuit at all. So far from its being true, as stated by Mr. Stanton, that no force appeared in the Valley after this, the fact is that I reorganized my force at New Market, and on the 10th of November moved down the Valley again and confronted Sheridan on the 11th and 12th in front of his intrenchments between Newtown and Kearnstown, and then retired back to New Market because provisions and forage could not be obtained in the lower Valley. The expeditions by which the posts of New creek and Beverly were subsequently captured, were sent out also from my force in the Valley. The strong force which General Grant says was entrenched under me at Waynesboro, when Sheridan advanced up the Valley in the latter part of February, 1865, with two divisions of cavalry of 5,000 each (10,000 in all), consisted of about 1,000 infantry and a few pieces of artillery, most of my infantry having been returned to General Lee to meet corresponding detachments from Sheridan to Grant, and all my cavalry and most of the artillery having been sent off on account of the impossibility of foraging the horses in the Valley. Obvious reasons of policy prevented any publication of these facts during the war, and it will now be seen that I was leading a forlorn hope all the time, and the public can appreciate the character of the victories won by Sheridan over me.

The statements I have made are from facts coming within my own knowledge, and they are made to show the disparity between the Confederate armies and those of the United States. These statements will serve to give some idea of the disparities existing in other lines. I now ask which has retired from the contest with more true glory, that heroic band of Confederates who so long withstood the tremendous armies and resources of the United States, or that "Grand Army of the Union," which, while being recruited from all the world, was enabled by "continuous hammering" to so exhaust it opponent "by mere attrition" as to compel a surrender? The world has never witnessed so great a political crime as that committed in the destruction of the Confederate Government by armed force. Other nations, in ancient as well as modern times, have fallen under the yoke of the conqueror or usurper, because their own follies, vices or crimes had prepared the way for their subjugation. Many tears have been shed over the fate of unhappy Poland, but we

cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the Poles had shown their incapacity to manage their own government ere they were consigned to foreign rule. In our case, however, the civilized nations of the earth have stood aloof and seen a brave and patriotic people politically murdered, while maintaining an unprecedented struggle for the right of self-government, and manifesting at every step their capacity for it, and this, too, when under an assumed neutrality, the resources of men, money, and munitions of war of those very nations were being freely used to consummate the monstrous deed, and thereby give the final blow to a genuine Republican Government even in the United States.

On behalf of my down-trodden country, I make the appeal to those nations that they will not commit the further injustice of receiving the history of this struggle from the mouths and pens of our enemies, but that they shall wait until the time shall come for placing a true history before them. In the meantime, let all my countrymen who were in a condition to know the character of the contest, put in a tangible form, to be preserved for the use of the future historian, such facts and materials for that history as are in their knowledge or possession.

J. A. Early,
Lieutenant-General, C. S. A.

[From the Richmond *Times*, April 12, 1896.]

THE FIRST DAY AT GETTYSBURG.

Tribute to Brave General Harry Heth who Opened the Great Battle.

A DESCRIPTION BY AN EYE WITNESS.

Interesting Observations of Jaquelin Marshall Meredith, Chaplain of Heth's Division—His Version of the "Cause of Failure."

To the Editor of the Times:

Sir,—I have read with regret the war of words in regard to "cause of failure" on the part of the Confederates at the battle of Gettysburg. In the various accounts of the battle, not one has come from an eye-witness of the first day's fight, of July 1, 1863. Not one of these accounts, that I have seen, have done simple justice

to the brave and gallant division of General Harry Heth and its faithful commander, upon whom rested the responsibility of opening the battle. As chaplain of 47th Regiment of Virginia Infantry, Brockenbrough's Brigade, first A. P. Hill's Divison, Jackson's Corps, and afterwards Heth's Division, of A. P. Hill's Corps, I witnessed the events leading to, and the opening of the fight on the morning of July 1st, and the final charge of the remnant of Heth's Division, under Pettigrew, who charged, under Pickett, on the 3d of July, at Cemetery Heights. As no one else has done so, I proceed to give a circumstantial account of the 30th of June and 1st of July, to do justice to a general and division I honor and love. About 2 o'clock P. M., on June 30, 1863, Heth's Division, Hill's Corps, leading the advance of the corps, reached Cashtown and went into bivouac around that village, on the eastern slope of a ridge, the continuance of the Blue Ridge, but here much lower than in Virginia. Dr. E. B. Spence, division surgeon, came to me about 4 o'clock, and requested me to ride forward with him into Gettysburg as he wished to procure some medical supplies. I mounted my horse, and started at once with him, proceeding forward on the pike eastwards, for five miles. I saw no troops moving, but was assured by the Doctor that some of our division were ahead. We reached Gettysburg about 5 o'clock P. M., and tied our horses at the first drug-store, where we had been but a few moments, when we saw a regiment of Confederates (I have since read that it was one of Pettigrew's North Carolina regiments), coming from the eastern part of the town at the quick march. We two non-combatants at once mounted, and joining the colonel at the head of the column, moved steadily back to Cashtown. The colonel was a stranger to me, although I knew Colonel James Marshall and Colonel Burgwin, commanding two of General Pettigrew's regiments. I knew General Pettigrew well, having served under him at the battle of Seven Pines, but I did not see him that evening. The Doctor and I were told that a superior force of the enemy were moving on Gettysburg. We were not followed nor did any Federal cavalry attack, or even show itself in rear or flank during the one hour and a half, to two hours that this regiment took to proceed in orderly march back to Cashtown. So far as we could see at night-fall on the 30th of June, there was no Federal force between Gettysburg and Cashtown. Very early on the morning of July 1st, Heth's Division fell into line, and debouched into the pike, marching towards Gettysburg in the following order, viz: Archer's Brigade of Tennesseans leading; next, Colonel John W. Brocken-

brough's Brigade of Virginians; next, Davis' Mississippi Brigade: Fourth, Pettigrew's North Carolina Brigade. Archer's and Brockenbrough's Brigades each numbered 1,000 men, as many men were left on the road in the rapid march of A. P. Hill's Corps to overtake Longstreet, and pass him in Clarke county, Virginia, ours being the corps left to watch Hooker at Fredericksburg.

"WE MUST FIGHT THEM."

I was riding with my colonel, Robert M. Mayo, and with Colonel Brockenbrough, commanding brigade, and had reached a point one mile east of Cashtown, when a staff officer of General H. Heth's—I think it was Captain Stockton Heth, the General's brother—rode up to our two colonels, and talked a few moments as we marched along the road. I heard him say: "General Heth is ordered to move on Gettysburg, and fight or not as he wishes." When he rode away I remember Colonel Brockenbrough and Colonel Mayo saying: "We must fight them; no division general will turn back with such orders." We had proceeded very slowly, giving time for the whole division to form in the road and march, and had, at 9 o'clock A. M., reached only about one and a half or two miles east from Cashtown, when we passed over a long ridge and down into a broad, clean, open valley, with the pike leading gradually by open fields upwards to another long ridge, where some oak woods covered a large part of the crest on both sides of the road. We had begun to ascend this slope, when I noticed Archer's Brigade file to the right of the road and march by column of fours, or marching order, at right angles to the road. In a few moments Brockenbrough's Brigade filed out on the right about four to five hundred yards in rear of Archer's. While still marching, and without time to face into battle line, with guns unloaded, Archer's Brigade of 1,000 men were suddenly charged upon by Buford's Federal Cavalry, 2,500 strong, from the cover of the woods on the ridge. The attack was so sudden in front and both flanks that in a few moments I saw General Archer and two-thirds of his brigade captured with only a few pistol shots from the cavalry. One-third of the brigade fled back upon the line being formed by Brockenbrough's Virginians, and rallied behind them. Brockenbrough, also in marching order, ordered "left-face, load;" then, unable to fire because of the flying Tennesseans, he back-stepped the brigade until in line with Davis' Brigade, then forming battle line on the left or north side of the Cashtown pike.

Buford's Cavalry withdrew with some six or seven hundred prisoners behind the wooded crest. General Heth now brought up Pettigrew's Brigade, and advanced the whole division to attack the crest. When we reached the crest the cavalry were gone, and seen a mile away withdrawing to the summit of another ridge. General Heth moved in battle line slowly but steadily across this valley, charged and drove back this cavalry, now supported by infantry. This must have been only a brigade of the Federal infantry corps, for it fell back on the ridge just west of Gettysburg and overlooking the town. This was a high, commanding ridge, with many open farms and but little woods, and stretching northeast and southwest across the roads from Cashtown, Carlisle, and overlooked the valley through which led the road from York. I remember how thankful I felt as Heth's Division moved forward about 1 o'clock P. M. to attack this ridge, which was crowned with long lines of waiting infantry and from which came a steady artillery fire, when, on looking to the left of our line, I saw a Confederate division (Rodes') come off the Carlisle road and form battle line to aid us, while looking back I saw Pender's Division coming up the pike in our rear. Heth's Division had suffered the loss of two-thirds of Archer's Brigade and some loss in sweeping back the Federal infantry from the last ridge, but now held the centre of attack on the right and left of the Cashtown pike. Here for two hours the fight was hot and steady. The Federal corps held its ground stubbornly, ebbing and flowing. Here I saw the Virginians of Brockenbrough's Brigade—22d Virginia, Colonel E. Poinsett Tayloe; 40th Virginia, Col. J. W. Brockenbrough, commanding brigade; 47th Virginia, Colonel R. M. Mayo; and 55th Virginia Regiments—driving the enemy in hand to hand fighting out of houses and barns of which they made forts. Here General Heth was wounded; here fell the brave Colonel Burgwin, of North Carolina, and here I buried next day, on the highest point, under a lone tree, with the Church's solemn services, Captain Brockenbrough, brother and aid of our brigade commander. By 3 o'clock the Federals fled from the ridge, across the valley and through Gettysburg to the Cemetery Heights. Soon after, or about 3 o'clock, I rode to the left where a few pieces of artillery were still replying to the artillery on Cemetery Heights, and there met a long and large force of Federal prisoners marching back on the Cashtown road westward. The guard told me that General Early threw a skirmish line around these and captured them as they were flying in disorder before

Rodes', Heth's and Pender's Divisions. There were about 5,000 prisoners.

I looked down and saw a level valley in which Gettysburg lay and could distinguish Early's Division forming line and resting across the road from York. This road was in rear of the position held by the Federal Corps during the battle. No doubt the appearance of Early's Division, coming up in their rear, completed their defeat. There was no more fighting after 3 o'clock. I was busy attending to the wounded and hardly noticed the forming of the long battle-line around Cemetery Heights.

HETH'S DIVISION SURPRISED.

The fighting next day was far to right and left, and I saw nothing of it, as the losses of our division and brigade were very heavy and I was constantly occupied with the wounded. General Heth was wounded while his division was pressing the centre of the attack. Heth's Division suffered a surprise, because we had no cavalry to meet Buford, but he redeemed this by a separate and special fight on the first ridge, and by holding the centre and hottest part of the fight on the last ridge where the whole Federal corps had picked their position to command the roads from Cashtown and Carlisle. The position was a strong one, with free sweep for their artillery. Yet, in spite of its commander being disabled, this now declimated division was chosen to be placed under General Pickett, commanded by General Pettigrew, to take part in the fatal, but glorious charge on Cemetery Heights on the 3d of July. In that last charge fell my friend, Colonel James Marshall, of Markham, Fauquier county, Va., colonel of a North Carolina regiment, and commanding Pettigrew's Brigade. This, I think, shows that the bringing on of the battle of Gettysburg by surprise was, in the providence of God, due to the want of cavalry in front of Heth's Infantry. Who could blame General Heth for driving the cavalry before him when he had been surprised into loss. From there being no pursuit of the regiment, I left Gettysburg on the eve of the 30th of June.

General Heth could not know there was a force on the Cashtown road. Besides, had he prudentially withdrawn to Cashtown after suffering loss from the cavalry surprise, what would have been General Early's position? General Early and Rodes, of Ewell's Corps, had orders to move towards Cashtown. Gettysburg lay in Early's direct road, and if Heth had fallen back on Cashtown, and Rodes

turned off four miles northwest on to the Cashtown road, then at 3 or 4 o'clock of July 1st Early would have found the Federal corps holding a strong position across his road with fully three times his numbers, and no help nearer than four or five miles. This would have brought on battle at a late hour in the evening when too late to defeat and drive the enemy from their position. All honor is due General Heth and his noble division for pressing the enemy and enabling Rodes and Pender and Early to secure a severely-fought battle. The cause of surprise was want of cavalry but the cause of battle was that the Federal corps commander had seized the ridge north and west of Gettysburg, which blocked the road by which the Confederate corps of Hill and Ewell were converging on Cashtown. Why need we look any further for causes. It sufficeth that the same All-wise Ruler of events that permitted Ashby and "Stonewall" Jackson to be shot in front and perhaps by their own men, and afterwards permitted J. E. B. Stuart to fall after victory by the seeming accidental shot of a Federal trooper, who was fleeing from our lines; the same Ruler permitted the otherwise invincible Army of Northern Virginia and its beloved general to suffer a repulse at Gettysburg.

Respectfully,

JAQUELIN MARSHALL MEREDITH,
Chaplain of 47th Virginia Infantry, Heth's Division, A. P. Hill's Corps, A. N. Va., C. S.

Wide Water, Va., March 31, 1896.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, May 24, 1896.]

OLD DOMINION DRAGOONS.

The Muster-Roll of this Hampton Organization.

The following is the roll of the Old Dominion Dragoons, of Hampton, Va., Company B, 3d Regiment of Virginia Cavalry, under their original organization:

Captain J. C. Phillips, promoted to colonel of 13th Regiment of Virginia Cavalry.

First Lieutenant W. R. Vaughan, promoted to surgeon, dead.

Second Lieutenant Gill A. Cary, dead.

Third Lieutenant G. B. Jones.

Orderly Sergeant Tayett Sinclair.

Second Sergeant William T. Smith, promoted to lieutenant, dead.

Third Sergeant William N. Causey, dead.

Fourth Sergeant George J. Smith, wounded at Haw's Shop, 28th of May, 1864; died 17th of June.

First Corporal Samuel W. Phillips, captured at Aldie, June 17, 1863.

Second Corporal James B. White, promoted to quartermaster, dead.

Third Corporal Joseph B. Herbert, wounded March 17, 1863; died since the war.

Fourth Corporal Gilbert Phillips, dead.

Ayers, Samuel, dead; Armistead, R. T.; Allen, Thomas, killed at Todd's farm May 8, 1864; Bains, J. J.; Bates, John Q., dead; Causey, C. H., dead; Causey, James C.; Crandol, T. J.; Cooper, Charles H., killed at Williamsburg, May 5, 1862; Cooper, James, dead; Davis, Robert A.; Davis, Louis F., died of wounds; Elliott, H. H., dead; Elliott, Robert E., dead; Ethridge, Leonidas; Edders, W. B.; Fitchett, William; Garrett, George, dead; Hawkins, Richard, dead; Hudgins, R. S.; Herbert, Thomas T., dead; Ham, Jacob C. died of wounds received May 21, 1864; Hudgins, Andrew J., dead; Ivy, William; Joynes, John L., dead; Johnson, Darden, killed by 44th Georgia Regiment, June, 1864; Jones, Charles, dead; Jones, Jesse S., promoted to captain, ended the war as major; Jones, Andrew Mac, dead; Lee, John; Lee, William, captured at Aldie, June 17, 1863; Meriam, George, dead; Mellen, George C., promoted to lieutenant, wounded at Kelley's Ford, March 17, 1863, dead; Mears, Edward, captured at Aldie, June 17, 1863, dead; Phillips, George W., captured in Mathews county, and killed by negro soldiers; Phillips, Joseph, promoted colonel of cavalry, and killed in Louisiana; Phillips, C. Baney; Phillips, Benjamin, Jr., dead; Phillips, Benjamin, Sr., dead; Presson, John M., dead; Sinclair, Henry, dead; Segar, John F., promoted captain of infantry, dead; Toppin, Robert M., dead; Thompson, Willis, dead; Vaughan, James M.; Vaughan, Robert H., dead; Watts, Samuel A., dead; Watts, Thomas; Whiting, A. T.; West, Arthur W., wounded at Kelley's Ford, March 17, 1863, dead; West, W. D., dead; Williams, John, captured at Aldie, June 17, 1863; Young, Wash, killed at Kelley's Ford, March 17, 1863.

The following joined after organization:

Blacks, Edward; Crofton, G. J. B., captured 1863, dead; Curtis, R. K., wounded near Bernsboro, Md., 1863.; Dauougherty, W. T., captured at Front Royal, August 16, 1864; Davis, Barlow; Davis, Eddie, dead; Davis, P. P., captured October 12, 1864; Downey, J. W., dead; Drewry, R. W., captured at Front Royal, August 16, 1864; Gammel, Nat., promoted to lieutenant; Hudgins B. F., dead; Hall, John, dead; Height, Wiley, killed at Haw's Shop, May 28, 1864; Jones, B. F., wounded at Trevillian, July 12, 1864; Laws, William, killed at Tood's Tavern, May 6, 1864; Marrow, D. G.; Mears, Levin, died in Richmond in 1863; Moreland, Alphonzo, dead; Murry, John, died in 1864; Phillips, C. Hopkins, dead; Peddicord, Alexander; Parramore, John, dead; Sewell, J. M., dead; Selden, Henry, killed in September, 1864; Sinclair, G. K.; Selden, R. C.; Southall, Travis M.; Sheilds, W. P.; Tilford, J. C., dead; Vaughan, Alexander, captured at Front Royal, 1864, dead; Vaughan, Howard, dead; Winder, Levin G.; Worthington, James, dead; Walter, Isaac, dead; Wilson, Robert; Wainwright, J. C.; Wray, John, promoted lieutenant and captured at Brandy Station, October 11, 1862; Wray, George; Young, W. L.

STORY OF A TERRIBLE BATTLE.

The Carnage at Franklin, Tennessee, Next to that of the Crater.

S. A. Cunningham, editor of the *Confederate Veteran*, tells a story of his personal experience in the great battle of Franklin.

It will be remembered that Hood had brought his army into Tennessee, while Sherman had gone on to the sea. Hood had almost succeeded in cutting off Schofield's forces at Columbia, having reached the vicinity of Spring Hill, between there and Franklin at night-fall of the day before the battle.

No event of the war perhaps showed a scene equal to this charge at Franklin. The range of hills upon which we formed, offered the best view of the battlefield, with but little exposure to danger, and there were hundreds collected there as spectators. Our ranks were being extended rapidly to the right and left. In Franklin there was the utmost confusion. The enemy was greatly excited. We could see them running to and fro. Wagon-trains were being pressed across the Harpeth river, and on towards Nashville. General Lor-

ing, of Cleburne's division, made a speech to his men. Our Brigadier-General Strahl was quiet, and there was an expression of sadness on his face. The soldiers were full of ardor, and confident of success. They had unbounded faith in General Hood, whom they believed would achieve a victory that would give us Nashville. Such was the spirit of the army as the signal was given which set it in motion. Our generals were ready, and some of them rode in front of our main line. With a quick step, we moved forward to the sound of stirring music. This is the only battle that I was in, and they were many, where bands of music were used. I was right guide to the 41st Tennessee, marching four paces to the front, I had an opportunity of viewing my comrades, and I well remember the look of determination that was on every face. Our bold movement caused the enemy to give up, without much firing, its advanced line. As they fell back at double-quick, our men rushed forward, even though they had to face the grim line of breastworks just at the edge of the town.

Before we were in proper distance for small arms, the artillery opened on both sides. Our guns, firing over our heads from the hills in the rear, used ammunition without stint, while the enemy's batteries were at constant play upon our lines. When they withdrew to their main line of works it was as one even plain for a mile, About fifty yards in front of their breastworks, we came in contact with formidable *chevaux de frise*, over or through which it was very difficult to pass. Why half of us were not killed yet remains a mystery; for after moving forward so great a distance, all the time under fire, the detention, immediately in their front, gave them a very great advantage. We arrived at the works, and some of our men, after a club fight at the trenches, got over. The colors of my regiment were carried inside, and when the arm that held them was shot off, they fell to the ground and remained until morning. Cleburne's men dashed at the works, but their gallant leader was shot dead, and they gave way, so that the enemy remained on our flank, and kept up a constant enfilading fire. Our left also failed to hold the works, and for a short distance we remained and fought until the ditch was almost full of dead men. Night came on soon after the hard fighting began, and we fired at the flash of each other's guns. Holding the enemy's lines, as we continued to do on this part of them, we were terribly massacred by the enfilade firing. The works were so high that those who fired the guns were obliged to get a footing in the embankment, exposing themselves in addition

to their flank, to a fire by men in houses. One especially severe was that from Mr. Carter's, immediately in my front. I was near General Strahl, who stood in the ditch, and handed up guns to those posted to fire them. I had passed to him my short Enfield (noted in the regiment), about the sixth time. The man who had been firing, cocked it and was taking deliberate aim, when he was shot, and tumbled down dead into the ditch upon those killed before him. When the men so exposed were shot down, their places were supplied by volunteers until these were exhausted, and it was necessary for General Strahl to call upon others. He turned to me, and though I was several feet back from the ditch, I rose up immediately, and walking over the wounded and dead, took position with one foot upon the pile of bodies of my dead fellows, and the other in the embankment, and fired guns which the General himself handed up to me until he, too, was shot down. One other man had had position on my right, and assisted in the firing. The battle lasted until not an efficient man was left between us and the Columbia Pike, about fifty yards to our right, and hardly enough behind us to hand up the guns. We could not hold out much longer, for indeed but few of us were then left alive. It seemed as if we had no choice but to surrender or try to get away, and when I asked the General for counsel, he simply answered, "Keep firing." But just as the man to my right was shot, and fell against me with terrible groans, General Strahl was shot. He three up his hands, falling on his face, and I thought him dead, but in asking the dying man, who still lay against my shoulder as he sank forever, how he was wounded, the General, who had not been killed, thinking my question was to him, raised up, saying that he was shot in the neck, and called for Colonel Stafford to turn over his command. He crawled over the dead, the ditch being three deep, about twenty feet to where Colonel Stafford was. His staff officers started to carry him to the rear, but he received another shot, and directly the third, which killed him instantly. Colonel Stafford was dead in the pile, as the morning light disclosed, with his feet wedged in at the bottom, with other dead across and under him after he fell, leaving his body half standing, as if ready to give command to the dead!

By that time but a handful of us were left on that part of the line, and as I was sure that our condition was not known, I ran to the rear to report to General John C. Brown, commanding the division. I met Major Hampton, of his staff, who told me that General Brown was wounded, and that General Strahl was in command. This assured me that those in command did not know the real situation,

so I went on the hunt for General Cheatham. By and by relief was sent to the front. This done, nature gave way. My shoulder was black with bruises from firing, and it seemed that no moisture was left in my system. Utterly exhausted, I sank upon the ground and tried to sleep. The battle was over, and I could do no more; but animated still with concern for the fate of comrades, I returned to the awful spectacle in search of some who, year after year, had been at my side. Ah, the loyalty of faithful comrades in such a struggle!

These personal recollections are all that I can give, as the greater part of the battle was fought after nightfall, and once in the midst of it, with but the light of the flashing guns, I could see only what passed directly under my own eyes. True, the moon was shining, but the dense smoke and dust so filled the air as to weaken its benefits, like a heavy fog before the rising sun, only there was no promise of the fog disappearing. Our spirits were crushed. It was indeed the Valley of Death.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, July 19, 1896.]

THE BURIAL OF LATANE.

A Touching Incident of the Civil War Recalled.

During the Confederate reunion recently held in Richmond many good stories were told, many anecdotes related, many gallant deeds recalled of the valor and gallantry of some favorite son, and many tributes of love and respect paid to the noble women of the South, past and present. In view of this last, it might not be inappropriate at this time to recall an incident of the struggle between the North and South that is in a measure familiar to all of those that still cherish the tenderest memories of the dead Confederacy; but the true facts of which are known to a comparative few. If the Confederate veterans, when discussing the thrilling events of the early 60's, had gone out to Hanover Courthouse, a few miles from Richmond, and then journeyed to "Summer Hill," the estate of Mrs. Mary Page Newton, widow of Captain William B. Newton, Confederate States army, they would have found in the family burying-ground a grass-covered grave, but with no monument to the honor of the sleeping soldier beneath, no epitaph to his virtues, or to tell how and when he died. There among the whispering pines lies the remains of William Latane, captain of the Essex Troop, 9th Regiment, Stuart's Brigade. "The Burial of Latane" has been made

familiar to history by a poem by John R. Thompson, published in "*The University Memorial*," and a painting under the same title, by William D. Washington, which was afterwards extensively copied. Washington's original painting is said to have sold for $10,000, and was afterwards destroyed by a fire in New York. The "copies" were numerous, and many of them can still be found in the North, as well as the South, as the subject was one that excited general interest. The fact is not generally known, however, that the figures in the picture are all taken from models, who sat for the picture in Richmond, and are not the likenesses of the originals that figured in the pathetic scene of the burial at "Summer Hill," on the 14th of August, 1862. Captain Latane, who was a mere boy, was killed on the road from Hanover Courthouse to Old Church. At that time McClellan's army was close on to Richmond, and was in possession of the country surrounding Hanover Courthouse. Captain Latane's brother was first lieutenant of the same company, and when his brother was killed Lieutenant Latane took charge of the body, hoping to find friends to bury it. He found a negro boy driving the mill-cart from "Westwood," the home of Dr. William S. R. Brockenbrough, and the adjoining place to "Summer Hill," Mrs. Newton being a niece of Mrs. Brockenbrough's. Mrs. Brockenbrough took charge of the body, and, as a Federal picket was in possession of "Westwood," Lieutenant Latane was supplied with a horse by Mrs. Brockenbrough, and at once rejoined his command. This was on the 13th of August, 1862, and on the following day Captain Latane was buried at Summer Hill. The picture is a correct portrayal of the burial, with the exception of the mythical figures. An Episcopal minister was sent for to read the services, but he was not allowed to pass the pickets, and as the men were all in the army, the funeral had to be conducted by the ladies of the two households, assisted by a few family servants that were too faithful to run away or that were too infirm for the Yankees to carry. It was indeed a scene worthy the language of any poet, the brush of any artist. Though a stranger to them personally, the young captain's cause was their cause, and his principles their principles, so tenderly and gently they placed him in his grave, and the young girls covered him over with flowers. Mrs. Newton read the burial service of the Episcopal Church, and as the grave was being filled by the faithful negroes the ladies sang "Nearer, My God, to Thee" and "Rock of Ages." Besides Mrs. Newton, there were present Mrs. Brockenbrough and her little daughter, supposed to be the

child in the picture; her two nieces, Misses Maria and May Dabney; Mrs. Dr. J. Philip Smith, and Miss Judith White Newton, afterwards Mrs. Edwin C. Claybrook.

A thread of romance has always been wound around the incident, which was possibly due to Thompson's poem and Washington's painting. It is said that young Latane's sweetheart requested a picture of the tragic affair, and when this idea was suggested to the artist, he made his picture as true to life as possible, only substituting other figures for the originals. Mr. Washington visited "Summer Hill" for the purpose of getting the correct scenery, and in this respect his picture is true to nature. Mrs. Newton is still living at Summer Hill, and Mrs. Brockenbrough is at the church home in Richmond. The rest of those present at the burial have themselves now gone to join the "silent majority." Captain Latane was a brother of Bishop Latane, of the reformed Episcopal Church, who now lives in Baltimore, and the ladies that buried young Latane were the near kin of Bishop Newton, of the Episcopal Church of Virginia, although at that time the two families did not know each other.

Bishop Latane, in speaking recently of his brother's death, said that his family had often thought of moving their brother's remains to Hollywood, in Richmond, or to the old home in Essex county, but Virginia homes are changing hands so often now, that they had decided to let him sleep in the graveyard at Summer Hill, where he was tenderly placed by sympathetic friends.

R. C. S.

Baltimore, Md., July 12.

[From the Richmond *Times*, July 12, 1896.]

MORGAN'S FAMOUS RAID.

How He Swept Through Fifty-Two Towns Like a Cyclone.

One of the most extraordinary expeditions of the war was the raid of General John H. Morgan through Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio. One of his soldiers writes:

Our entire command consisted of about 1,500 men, all brave and resolute, well armed and mounted, and eager for the race. General Basil Duke and Colonel Dick Morgan were in the van, Captain

McFarland, of the Second Kentucky cavalry, being the senior captain and acting as major.

From Burksville we proceeded on through Columbia, Campbellsville and Lebanon, where the command fought from early dawn till late in the evening, putting to rout the enemy and capturing many of them, and destroying the government property. Thence to Springfield and Bardstown, whence the Yankees trailed their banners and fled at the sight of the Stars and Bars; thence through Bloomington, Garnetsville, to Brandenburg, on the Ohio river, where the command captured two steamboats, and one-half of the command were crossed over to fight out and disperse about 1,000 men ensconsed in a wheat-field on the Indiana side, while the other half were engaged with two gunboats that had come down the river to prevent the crossing.

General Morgan had brought his artillery to bear on them, and in the engagements one of the gunboats was badly crippled, while the other had to assist it to save the crew, and they skedaddled up the river. The army all crossed over to a man, and the enemy in the wheat-field were captured and dispersed, all prisoners being paroled.

Being on the Indiana side, strict orders were given to keep in line and have no straggling. They moved on to Corydon, where the enemy, made up of citizens and soldiers, had the foolhardiness to send out a flag of truce and demand an immediate surrender, but it was promptly returned with the order to surrender at once, or the town would be torn to pieces with shot and shell.

They surrendered without much fighting. About 1,200 were captured, and a large amount of government stores were destroyed. The command proceeded to Palmyra, where a short fight took place and more government stores were destroyed. Occasionally some parties would cheer the command; they were evidently Southern sympathisers. This, however, was in the Hoosier, but not in the Buckeye State. The command moved on to Canton, where more prisoners were taken, and more property destroyed; thence to New Philadelphia, with more prisoners and a skirmish. In fact, the command was never out of the sound of arms, or the flash of gunpowder.

The command then moved on through Vienna, Lexington, Paris, Vernon, Dupont and Versailles. There the command had a pretty good skirmish, and more government property was destroyed.

The country passed through was well cultivated and in fine crops, and the citizens moved and looked as if no war was on hand. No

pillaging or thieving was allowed, and none of it was done. Only provisions for men and provender for stock were taken, and Confederate money offered, which was refused. The command was kept under strict orders and discipline enforced. The Yankee women had no smiles for us, and treated and looked upon us as savages.

The command had fighting and skirmishing through the towns of New Boston, New Baltimore, Williamsburg, Sardinia, Winchester, Jacksonville, Locust Grove, Jasper, Packville, Beaver, Jackson, Butland, Chester and Buffington's Island. Here it attempted to cross the Ohio river in the face of all the gunboats on the river and 40,000 cavalry and citizens, and held them in check for three hours, when General Basil Duke and half of the command were taken prisoners and sent down the river to Cincinnati. There, the people, it is said, treated them to all manner of abuse they could devise. The little boys were allowed to spit in their faces. From there they were sent to Camp Morton, Ind., where they were stripped, their clothes searched, and not as much as a button left them.

At Buffington's Island General Morgan and the other half of the command cut their way through the Yankee files and went on till the 26th of July, passing through the following towns in Ohio: Portland, Harrisonville, Nelsonville, Cumberland, Greenville, Washington, Moorefield, Smithland, New Alexandria, Richmond, Springfield, Mechanicsville, West Point and Salineville. Near the last place General Morgan and his brother, Colonel Morgan, were captured with the rest of the command, the chief officers being sentenced to the penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio, and the rest of the command to Camp Chase, receiving the same treatment as the others. The general and his part of the command were in about ten miles of the Pennsylvania line, fighting all the way.

The number of towns passed through in the raid was fifty-two in all—nine in Kentucky, fourteen in Indiana, and twenty-nine in Ohio.

[From the N. Y. *Sun* July 1896.]

THE ATTACK ON HELENA.

A Veteran's Story of the Desperate Fourth of July Battle.

AN ATTEMPT TO SAVE VICKSBURG.

It Failed, However—The Attempt of 8,000 Confederates to Dislodge 4,000 Yankees Was Unsuccessful—A True and Thrilling Fourth of July Story.

"These are souvenirs of the one Fourth of July I shall never forget," said a Confederate veteran in Washington, on his way to the reunion at Richmond. He held up in evidence a pair of empty sleeves, which showed both arms cut off just below the elbows so evenly, that it might have been done by a stroke from a butcher's cleaver. "I didn't lose them burning powder for fun, either. I knew that everything we toyed with that day was loaded; loaded to kill. The same with the enemy. It was a Yankee shell at Helena, fired from the gunboat *Tyler*, which placed me on the retired list, where I have been since July 4, 1863.

"I was an officer in Fagan's Arkansas brigade and I never enjoyed a picnic beforehand in my life, as I did that stealthy 100-mile march from Little Rock to give the Yankees in their works at Helena a Fourth of July surprise party. You see, we had been lying idle all summer in Arkansas, while Grant closed the coils around our people at Vicksburg. We numbered about 8,000 men, consisting of our brigade, two brigades of 'Pap' Price's Missourians, and Marmaduke's cavalry, and 'Joe' Shelby's brigade counted in. Holmes was our commander, and one day he telegraphed to army headquarters, 'I believe we can take Helena. Please let me attack it.' The reply was, 'Go ahead and do it!' Should we take Helena, why Grant would simply have to call off his dogs at Vicksburg, and 'sick'* them on us, for, don't you see, we could shut off Yankey navigation in the

*This was the verbal order accredited to the late Major-General William Smith, twice Governor of Virginia. He did not deny to the Editor, in cordial converse, the implication, as to his desires, but said that his command was "At 'em boys!" Let the credit of this unique order rest where it may.

Mississippi and starve the enemy out at Vicksburg. Oh, we enjoyed the prospect, for we outnumbered the garrison at Helena two to one.

"The city of Helena lies in the lowlands on the Arkansas shore. Its water front was guarded by the gunboat *Tyler*, famous at Forts Henry and Donelson. On the land side there was an unbroken chain of fortifications extending from the river bank above the town to the bank below. The western front of the city was about half a mile in length and just outside the limits, nearly opposite the centre, was a heavy earthwork, mounting siege guns.

"I give you these details to show that the contract was a good-sized one. Yet there was a heap in our favor. The Yankees had but 4,000 men in Helena, and although they had plenty of cannon they lacked the trained artillerists to handle them. The gunners that day were green hands detailed from the 33d Missouri Infantry, and the way they handled the pieces made us wish we had met another kind. But we knew very little of the actual situation until we struck it all of a sudden about daylight on Independence Day. Our three columns, Marmaduke's, Price's, and Fagan's, told off in storming parties and reserves, moved against the batteries and intrenchments lying across our paths. There were six roads from the interior to the town, and the defenders, being ignorant as to the particular one or ones we would use, were compelled to watch them all. Our brigade attempted to take along some field artillery, but about a mile out from the lines we found the road obstructed, and on both sides of it the country was cut up into ravines, making it impassible for cannon. Our officers were obliged to dismount and leave the horses behind, and our men, with free use of limb, barely made their way through the labyrinth of obstructions in time to meet the engagement. We were the first to open the ball, and as soon as the straggling line could pull itself together it moved forward in battle order. Here a gorge intervened; there a steep hillside loomed before us, and the thicket and trenches in front were alive with sharpshooting riflemen.

The three regiments of the brigade charged on both sides of the road, and soon after daylight had carried four lines of rifle pits. But there had been no attack at any other point. The day was frightfully hot, and our poor fellows soon began to drop from heat and exhaustion as well as from Yankee bullets. The guns on Graveyard Hill were abreast of us, and poured their shots among our scattered men. It was with relief that we saw Price's line march to the assault of that battery, and as they did so we rallied for one more

charge on the last remaining rifle pits on Hindman Hill. That we carried, and the enemy fled to the shelter of Fort Curtis. On abandoning the guns to us the Missouri novices had the cunning to spike the pieces, or we would have turned them upon the walls of Fort Curtis. It was while attempting to drill out one of the guns for a shot at the old flag that I lost my arms by a shell from the gunboat. My hands were together in a line, and all at once I wondered why I could not twist the worm I had held a second before. Men who saw me say I stared and grinned like a madman, not knowing what had happened. When at last I realized what had happened, I ran forward in the charge with our men toward the ditch of the fort. Not only the gunboat fire, but that of the fort itself, which was bastioned, raked the walls, and our men were terribly repulsed. There was no hope but surrender, and our sharpshooters back in the rear shot down every man who attempted to go into the enemy's lines. So we were between two fires. We might have been saved yet had not Price's men made a terrible blunder. They were ordered to carry Graveyard Hill, which they did most gallantly, and instead of pressing on in our flank and rear to support us in the assault of Fort Curtis, they passed on to the town itself. Seeing no way of escape to the rear of our column, I joined them, and lay for three hours in a house by the wayside, where my wounds were dressed by a surgeon.

"Meantime the gunboat firing and the fusillade from Fort Curtis sweeping the ground over which we had charged, retreat over the same line was out of the question. I made my way towards the outposts on the north, and had the good luck to fall in with Marmaduke's cavalry, which had charged upon the battery north of the town. I struck Shelby's brigade, and that ended my adventures that terrible Fourth of July; but as I have talked chiefly of my deeds and those of my own command. I wish to add a little incident to show that heroes were all over the field that day. Shelby had with him that famous battery of flying artillery, manned by 'Dick' Collins, and known on all the border for the spirit with which it entered a fight. Collins' guns always went in on a charge with the squadrons.

"On moving out that day toward the battery assigned him to capture Battery A, Shelby found the road barricaded, and Collins quickly cut loose the teams and his gunners hauled the pieces around the obstructions by hand, letting the horses pick their way. Shelby advanced too far without support, and the guns of a field battery, as well as those of Fort Curtis and the gunboat *Tyler*, opened on his brigade. A counter charge followed; Shelby was wounded and the

slaughter around Collins' guns was awful. General officers and aides helped to work the pieces. Finally the horses were all shot down, and the line was compelled to retreat under the withering fire. Shelby, reeling in his saddle from the loss of blood through an artery severed at the wrist called for volunteers to save Collins' guns. At the cry, 'The battery is in danger,' hundreds of the troopers turned back. Shelby said: 'Fifty, only fifty! Bring the battery back or remain yourselves.' Collins and his lieutenants were still fighting bravely but hopelessly. The dead horses were cut away, ropes attached, and the guns dragged back safely to the lines. Fifteen only of those fifty volunteers got out unscathed and twenty remained where they fell.

"Since that day at Helena I tell the boys I would rather buck against a hoodoo than try to down Old Glory on the Fourth of July.

THE CONFEDERATE ARMIES.

The Commands from the Several Southern and Border States.

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

In your editorial of the 22d on the subject of the "Muster Rolls of Virginia Troops," you refer to a letter from Colonel Ainsworth to General Anderson, in which it was erroneously stated that Virginia had 160 batteries of artillery in the Confederate armies. Below I send you an extract from "Regimental Losses in the Civil War," by Lieutenant-Colonel William F. Fox; a work which the author says, "represents the patient and conscientious labor of years. Days, and often weeks, have been spent on the figures of each regiment, and no statistics are given that are not warrented by the official records." As far as I am able to judge, this volume, by comparison with others of like character, is the most accurate and complete, and by far the most impartial work of the kind published since the war by the northern press. Colonel Fox gives the following:

"STRENGTH OF THE CONFEDERATE ARMIES."

Alabama—Fifty-five regiments and eleven battalions of infantry;

five regiments of cavalry; three regiments of partisan rangers, and sixteen batteries of light artillery.

Arkansas—Thirty-five regiments and twelve battalions of infantry; six regiments and two battalions of cavalry, and fifteen batteries of light artillery.

Florida—Ten regiments and two battalions of infantry; two regiments and one battalion of cavalry, and six batteries of light artillery.

Georgia—Sixty-eight regiments and seventeen battalions of infantry; eleven regiments and two battalions of cavalry; one regiment and one battalion of partisan rangers; two battalions of heavy artillery, and twenty-eight batteries of light artillery.

Louisiana—Thirty-four regiments and ten battalions of infantry; two regiments and one battalion of cavalry; one regiment of partisan rangers; two regiments of heavy artillery, and twenty-six batteries of light artillery.

Mississippi—Forty-nine regiments and six battalions of infantry; seven regiments and four battalions of cavalry; two regiments of partisan rangers, and twenty batteries of light artillery.

North Carolina—Sixty-nine regiments and four battalions of infantry; one regiment and five battalions of cavalry; two battalions of heavy artillery, and nine batteries of light artillery.

South Carolina—Thirty-three regiments and two battalions of infantry; seven regiments and one battalion of cavalry; one regiment and one battalion of heavy artillery, and twenty-eight batteries of light artillery.

Tennessee—Sixty-one regiments and two battalions of infantry; twenty-one regiments and eleven battalions of cavalry; one regiment and one battalion of heavy artillery, and thirty-two batteries of light artillery.

Texas—Twenty-two regiments and five battalions of infantry; twenty-eight regiments and four battalions of cavalry, and sixteen batteries of light artillery.

Virginia—Sixty-five regiments and ten battalions of infantry; twenty-two regiments and eleven battalions of cavalry; one regiment of partisan rangers; one regiment of artillery, and fifty-three batteries of artillery.

Border States—Twenty-one regiments and four battalions of infantry; nine regiments and five battalions of cavalry, and eleven batteries of light artillery.

Confederate States Regulars—Seven regiments of infantry; six regiments of cavalry, and one battery of artillery.

Aggregate— 529 regiments and eighty-five battalions of infantry; 127 regiments and forty-seven battalions of cavalry; eight regiments and one battalion of partisan rangers; five regiments and six battalions of heavy artillery, and 261 batteries of light artillery—in all, equivalent to 764 regiments of ten companies each.

Colonel Fox says: "The severity of the losses among the Confederates, and the heroic persistency with which they would stand before the enemies musketry, becomes apparent in studying the official returns of various regiments. In the report for 1865–66, made by General James B. Fry, United States Provost-Marshal-General, there is a statement of Confederate losses, as compiled from the muster-rolls on file in the Bureau of Confederate Archives. The returns are incomplete, and nearly all the Alabama rolls are missing; still, the figures are worth noting, as they show that at least 74,524 were killed or died of wounds, and that 52,297 died of disease.

[From the Richmond *Times* July 16, 1896.]

CAPSTON'S SPECIAL MISSION.

Letter of The Secretary of State Defining His Duties.

TO CUT OFF THE RECRUIT SUPPLY.

Caution is Given That Though Secrecy Must Be Maintained, if Possible, Everything Must be Carried Out in an Honorable Way.

The letter published below is self-explanatory, and is a copy from the original letter, which belongs to Mr. S. L. Kelly, of this city, who was administrator for Lieutenant Capston's estate, and found the document among the papers of the deceased when a settlement was made:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
RICHMOND, July 3, 1863.

SIR,—You have in accordance with your proposal made to this department, been detailed by the Secretary of War for special service under my orders.

The duty which is proposed to entrust to you is that of a private and confidential agent of this government, for the purpose of proceeding to Ireland, and there using all legitimate means to enlighten the population as to the true nature and character of the contest now waged in this continent, with the view of defeating the attempts made by the agents of the United States to obtain in Ireland recruits for their armies. It is understood that under the guise of assisting needy persons to emigrate, a regular organization has been formed of agents in Ireland who leave untried no method of deceiving the laboring population into emigrating for the ostensible purpose of seeking employment in the United States, but really for recruiting the Federal armies.

TO USE HONORABLE MEANS.

The means to be used by you can scarcely be suggested from this side, but they are to be confined to such as are strictly legitimate, honorable, and proper. We rely on truth and justice alone. Throw yourself as much as possible into close communication with the people where the agents of our enemies are at work. Inform them by every means you can devise, of the true purpose of those who seek to induce them to emigrate. Explain to them the nature of the warfare which is carried on here. Picture to them the fate of their unhappy countrymen who have already fallen victims to the arts of the Federals. Relate to them the story of Meagher's Brigade, its formation and its fate. Explain to them that they will be called on to meet Irishmen in battle, and thus to imbrue their hands in the blood of their own friends, and perhaps kinsmen, in a quarrel which does not concern them, and in which all the feelings of a common humanity should induce them to refuse taking part against us. Contrast the policy of the Federal and Confederate States in former times in their treatment of foreigners, in order to satisfy Irishmen where true sympathy in their favor was found in periods of trial. At the North the Know-Nothing party, based on hatred to foreigners and especially to Catholics, was triumphiant in its career. In the South it was crushed, Virginia taking the lead in trampling it under foot. In this war such has been the hatred of the New England Puritans to Irishmen and Catholics, that in several instances the chapels and places of worship of the Irish Catholics have been burnt or shamefully desecrated by the regiments of volunteers from New England. These facts have been published in Northern papers. Take the New York *Freeman's Journal*, and you will see shocking details, not

coming from Confederate sources, but from the officers of the United States themselves.

SHOW THEM UP.

Lay all these matters fully before the people who are now called on to join these ferocious persecutors in the destruction of this nation, where all religions and all nationalities meet equal justice and protection both from the people and from the laws.

These views may be urged by any proper means you can devise; through the press, by mixing with the people themselves, and by disseminating the facts amongst persons who have influence with the people.

The laws of England must be strictly respected and obeyed by you. While prudence dictates that you should not reveal your agency, nor the purpose for which you go abroad, it is not desired nor expected that you use any dishonest disguise or false pretences. Your mission is, although secret, honorable, and the means employed must be such as this government may fearlessly avow and openly justify, if your conduct should ever be called into question. On this point there must be no room whatever for doubt or cavil.

AS TO COMPENSATION.

The government expects much from your zeal, activity and discretion. You will be furnished with letters of introduction to our agent abroad. You will receive the same pay as you now get as first lieutenant of cavalry, namely, twenty-one pounds per month, being about equal to one hundred dollars. Your passage to and from Europe will be provided by this department. If you need any small sums for disbursements of expenses connected with your duties, such as cost of printing and the like, you will apply to the agent to whom I give you a letter, and who will provide the funds, if he approves the expenditure.

You will report your proceedings to this department through the agent to whom your letter of introduction is addressed, as often, at least, as once a month.

I am, sir, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. P. BENJAMIN,
Secretary of State.

Lieut. J. L. Capston, etc.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, Feb. 7, 1897.]

CHANCELLORSVILLE.

Retrospective Glance at the Battlefield.

GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE FIGHT.

Gallant Part of the 55th Virginia Regiment. An Interesting Paper. Read before Wright-Latane Camp of Tappahannock.

At a recent meeting of Wright-Latane Camp, Confederate Veterans, Captain Albert Reynolds, Company F, Fifty-fifth Virginia Regiment, and second lieutenant commander of the camp, read the following paper:

Ever since the war I have had a desire to revisit some of the fields on which I did battle for my country, but never had an opportunity to do so till last summer, while visiting relatives in Spotsylvania county, when my brother proposed to take me to the Chancellorsville battlefield.

So early Monday morning, the last day of August, we started towards the courthouse, but leaving that to our right, came to quite a pretty monument situated in the forks of the road and dedicated to Major-General Sedgwick, of the Federal army, who was killed on that spot during the battle of Spotsylvania Courthouse.

As I had been wounded a short time before the battle of "The Wilderness," I was not present with my regiment when that battle was fought, and, consequently, knew nothing of the field; so, after inspecting the monument, we struck off again for Chancellorsville, passing by Screamersville, where the Second Adventists were holding a camp-meeting. The tents looked quite pretty, reminding me of the time when the Army of Northern Virginia dwelt in tents—*i. e.*, when they could get them.

About 11 o'clock we came to the plank road, and turned up towards Chancellorsville.

I felt as if I was on holy ground; for it was right along here that we marched the 1st day of May, thirty-three years ago, led by Lee and Jackson, and A. P. Hill, and Heth, and Mallory. It is just about as warm and dusky now as then. We soon came to the road that we took to the left by "The Furnace," but our time being lim-

ited, we conclude it is not sufficient to take the route we marched around Hooker's army; so we take the right and go by Chancellorsville House, through the battlefield, to the place where the private road, along which we marched, runs into the plank road. It looks now just as I remember it looked then, except that there is a gate across it now. Everything looks so natural that I imagine I see the cavalry pickets standing there still. I got out of the vehicle and walked down the road towards Chancellorsville. It is there where we filed to the left, and a short distance in the woods is where we formed line of battle.

The order was given, "Forward March!" and our three divisions move off to strike for all that is dear to freeman. Through the woods we go. I am going over the same ground I went over thirty-three years ago, when I was a boy-soldier of the brave and gallant Essex Sharpshooters.

FORGOT HE WAS OLD.

My heart beats strong. I forget that I am an old man now. I glide along, I hardly know how, over the same ground. Presently the rattle of the skirmisher's fire is heard in front. The soldiers cheer and go faster. Here is the field where the enemy left their supper cooking. In imagination I see the soldiers again dipping real coffee from the boilers, and blowing and drinking it as they moved along. Some have junks of beef on their bayonets, while their comrades cut slices. Others are stuffing hardtack in their haversacks as they go; for no one can stop; all must keep dressed now. On we go through the woods, dressing our lines as we pass through the fields and openings.

How proudly the men march! How enthuastic they are! How beautifully the emblems of constitutional liberty wave in the breeze! Jackson's corps is sweeping the field! What a grand panorama!

Our gallant brigadier is on foot in front of us. He turns and salutes his brigade with his sword—a compliment which we intend to prove that we deserve ere we stop.

And here is where we were when the enemy attempted to made a stand to check us. A volley from a line of battle is poured into our line to the right of us; but only one. We make no stop. The volley is returned, and we go still faster, while the rebel yell rolls from one end of our lines to the other, and back again. We are moving too fast. The officers storm at the men for not moving slower, when they are only keeping up with the officers. And now the artil-

lery is booming, shells are shrieking and bursting, rifles are rattling, and occasionally a volley is fired. The rebel yell is now almost continuous. Still, on we sweep.

There is the place, near those thick bushes, where the gallant Lieutenant Roane received a scrapnel shot in his abdomen, when one of his men, whom he had just given the flat of his sword for showing the white feather, said: "I'm mighty sorry for Lieutenant Roane, but he oughn't to beat me like he did."

We are halted. There is a lull in the fire and uproar. The Light Division has been ordered to take the lead. It is beginning to get dark. We move again, and just ahead is where we came out into the plank road (I could not understand before why we came out of the fields and woods into the road, but it is all plain now—we went straight, but the road makes a turn). It is there where we saw the deserted artillery, and the dead and wounded horses. All looks now just as it did then. I do not think the trees have grown a bit; even the bushes seem to be the same.

HERE IS THE PLACE.

We march by the left flank along the road a short distance, and halt, and front. Here is the place. Our left is near the brow of a low hill or rise. It is so dark that we cannot see a man across the road. Lane's skirmishers are in front and open fire just abreast of our left flank.

In a short while a wounded man is borne along towards the rear, just behind our regiment. Several men were holding him up, and he was trying to walk, when brave Sergeant Tom Fogg recognized him, and said: "Great God, it is General Jackson!" Then the order is given to deploy the regiment as skirmishers, and almost immediately the road was swept by such a destructive artillery fire as can only be imagined. I don't believe the like was ever known before or since.

The darkness and the fire combined render it impossible to execute the movement. The men drop on the ground. Colonel Mallory calls upon the officers to do their duty (the last words he ever spoke). My company, which was the right company of the regiment, was wheeled to the left and marched through the storm down to the color line. How beautifully the company responded to their captain's orders. They were heroes among heroes. The captain intended to deploy by the right flank as soon as he reached the color

line, but to get there was all that we could do. No man could stand and live.

Being just a little behind the brow before mentioned, most of the shells which missed the brow missed us while lying on the ground, and those which struck the brow ricochetted over us.

It was impossible for us to rise, so the men only raised their heads to fire, and to add to it all, the men in the darkness behind us, not knowing that we were there, opened fire on us.

After we had remained sufficient time for our lines to be established in our rear, Major Saunders gave the order for us to fall back.

THE HOUSE GONE.

The old frame of a house is gone, but there is where it stood, and it was by the side of this old house, forty yards from the middle of the road, where I was lying, and by the light of the musketry fire and the bursting of the shells that I saw Major Saunders, and, although I could not hear his voice, I knew by his gestures that his order was to fall back.

A FAMOUS CHARGE.

Both together they numbered about six hundred—just the number that made the famous charge at Balaklava. They had been ordered forward, and could not stop without orders; so on they went.

"Was there a man dismay'd?
Not tho' the soldiers knew
Some one had blunder'd;
Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die:
Into the Valley of Death
Marched the six hundred."

And there is the opening they came to. It is a valley with the hill next to the enemy rising somewhat abruptly, and crowned with fortifications, as far as could be seen, both to the right and to the left, behind which were the enemy's infantry and artillery, and within less than 100 yards of those breastworks, which were wrapped in a flame of fire and a pall of smoke, with

"Cannon to right of them,
Cannon to left of them,
Cannon in front of them
Volley'd and thunder'd;

Storm'd at with shot and shell,
Boldly they marched and well,
Into the jaws of death
Into the mouth of hell,
Marched the six hundred."

And when the fire was so severe that the men could stand no longer, and knowing it was all the result of somebody's blunder, they lay on the ground and loaded and fired as fast as they could, waiting for orders to retire. But no order came.

Officers were falling so fast that no one knew who was in command. And just at this time T. R. B. Wright, who was then a private in the Essex Sharpshooters, seeing our flag fall, ran and seized it and carried it to the front, calling to the men to follow. Ah, Tom, Sergeant Jasper did not perform as brave an act as that, but the men couldn't follow. Had they attempted it, without an interposition of Providence, not one would have been left to tell the tale, and God alone spared your life.

And, when Adjutant R. L. Williams could find no officer above his own rank to command the regiment, he took the responsibility upon himself, and ordered a retreat; and

"Then they came back, but
Not the six hundred."

Casualties—Colonel, dead; Lieutenant-Colonel, wounded; Major, dead. Every captain, except one,* either dead or wounded. Every first lieutenant either dead or wounded. Every second lieutenant, except four, either dead or wounded. One-third of the men either dead or wounded. And what is left of the 55th Virginia Regiment is commanded by the adjutant and four second lieutenants.

Cardigan, at Balaklava, left hundreds of prisoners behind. Pickett, at Gettysburg, left thousands; but every man of the 55th Virginia who could walk was brought off the field.

*Captain W. J. Davis and several of his men having got lost from his regiment in the darkness after the wounding of General Jackson, called out for the 55th, and was answered, "Here we are!" and, not knowing any better, walked right into the enemy's lines, and inquired for his company, when a boy, apparently about sixteen years old, stepped up close to him, and, looking on his collar, discovered his rank, and, patting him on his shoulder, said "Captain, this is the 55th Ohio, and you are my prisoner."

"When can their glory fade
On the wild charge they made."

I was lying on the ground by the side of Tom Wright at the time. I stood up, gave the order to my company and instantly I was wounded by a piece of shell from the enemy, and Garland Smith, only a few feet from me, was wounded by a bullet from our own men in our rear.

Yes, brave old Tom Coghill, you took me to that very white oak tree, with scars on it now from top to bottom, and there we lay with Garland Smith behind us, until the fire slackened.

Jackson and A. P. Hill both being wounded, Stuart was sent for during the night to command the corps, and our brigadier (Heth), was put in command of the Light Division, and Colonel J. M. Brockenbrough succeeded to the command of our brigade.

And over the same ground our brigade was ordered next morning (the 3d) to advance in line to near the same spot and halt—Fortieth and Forty-seventh on the right of the road, and Fifty-fifth and Twenty-second battalions on the left—and either by a blunder or dereliction of duty on the part of some one, when they arrived at the proper place, the Fortieth and Forty-seventh were halted, and the Fifty-fifth and Twenty-second battalions were not halted, but allowed to keep straight forward and charge the whole of Hooker's army alone.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, Feb. 7, 1897.

COMPANY I, 56TH VIRGINIA.

Roster of the Command—Some of Its Movements.

BALTIMORE, MD., *February 4, 1897.*

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

You will please publish in your Confederate column the enclosed roster of Company I, Fifty-six Virginia Infantry, organized in Charlotte county, Virginia, in June, 1861, and mustered into service at Richmond, Virginia, July 18, 1861. It was known as the Charlotte Grays. The Regiment went West, and shed its first blood at Fort Donelson, Tennessee. Returning to Virginia in May, 1862, it was

put in Pickett's Brigade, with the Eighth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-eighth Virginia regiments, and with these regiments helped to win for General Pickett his major-general stars at Gaines's Mill. It served until the end of the war in this brigade, taking a conspicuous part in the noted Pickett's charge at the battle of Gettysburg.

The company's roll has been carefully compiled by Lieutenant Floyd Clark, now living at Chase City, Virginia, and myself.

Your's, very respectfully,

J. W. Breedlove.

Private Company I, Fifty-sixth Virginia Infantry.

THE ROSTER.

William E. Green, captain, died since the war.

Thomas S. Henry, first lieutenant, nephew of Patrick Henry.

William H. Price, second lieutenant, died since the war.

John T. Palmer, third lieutenant.

Thomas N. Read, first sergeant, died since the war.

William P. Morrison, second sergeant, wounded at Fort Donelson, and died.

Thomas B. Smith, third sergeant, wounded at Gettysburg.

Peyton R. Lawson, fourth sergeant, killed at South Mountain.

Robert A. Holt, fifth sergeant, wounded.

William T. Guill, first corporal, a color guard, and killed at Gettysburg.

Stanard Booker, second corporal.

Jacob W. Morton, third corporal, wounded at Gettysburg, and captured.

W. W. Berkeley, fourth corporal.

PRIVATES.

Allen, Joseph, dead; Baker, Elijah, killed at Gettysburg; Baker, John E., died during the war; Beasley, W. D., wounded at Gettysburg; Blankenship, Joel, died during the war; Blankenship, Dick, died during the war; Booker, Horace, discharged early in the war; Brightwell, William, dead; Brightwell, Charles; Breedlove, John W., wounded at Gettysburg; Clark, Charles J., promoted to captain, wounded at Gettysburg; Clark, Elijah W., dead; Clark, E. C., transferred to cavalry; Clark, William, dead; Clark, Floyd, pro-

moted to lieutenant; Calhoun, Adam; Calhoun, John; Creacy, John, a gallant man, promoted to lieutenant, wounded, and captured at Gettysburg; Cronin, S. D.; Crumby, John, discharged; Dickerson, John T.; Dixon, John T.; Daniels, George C., wounded at Gettysburg; Driscoll, C., killed at Gettysburg; Ellington, Branch, killed at Cold Harbor, June, 1864; Elliott, Robert, killed at Gettysburg; Gaines, John C.; Gaines, William B., wounded at Sharpsburg; Green, William T.; Guill, John, died since the War; Garrison, John R.; Garrison, Joseph; Hill, James R.; Holt, Thomas, killed in seven-days' fight before Richmond; Holt, R. I., killed in seven-days' fight before Richmond; Holt, John Lee, killed at Gettysburg, 1864; Holt, J. P., killed at Drury's Bluff, 1862; Holt, R. M., wounded at South Mountain, 1862; Holt, B. N. M., wounded at Five Forks, 1865; Harvey, Wyatt C., teamster; Hamlett, E. W.; Hamlett, Jesse; Harvey, W. D., died since the war; Harvey, Thomas, died since the war; Hardiman, John E., wounded at Gaines's Mill and at Gettysburg; Hammersley, Richard, wounded at Gettysburg; Hamlet, Thomas; Irwin, Powhatan I.; Johnson, Clemm; Johnson, J. R.; Kearsey, John, died in Richmond, 1861; Lawson, Thomas G., wounded at Gettysburg; Leadbetter, R. T.; Lester, H. F.; Lester, T. Parker, dead; Lester, W. Tal.; Mason, Andrew, killed in seven days' fight, first death in the company; Mason, Tobe, killed at Gettysburg; Mason, Alpheus, dead; Mason, Big Daniel, dead; Mason, Hillery, dead; Morton John A.; Overstreet, W. R., killed at Hutchin's Run; Pugh, Presley A.; Pryor, Samuel, discharged; Ramsey, Samuel W., killed at Hutchin's Run; Rash, James A.; Smith, James L., wounded at Second Battle of Manassas; Smith, John M., died 1862; Smith, W. G., dead; Smith, Edward, dead; Smith, William Henry; Smith, Lea, killed at Gettysburg; Sharpe, Josiah; Steele, Pete, wounded at Fort Donelson and Gettysburg; St. John, Alexander, killed at Gettysburg; Thomas, Rice, killed at Fort Donelson, first man killed in the company; Trent, Booker, died 1862; Vaughan, Merritt, died 1862; Williams, W. W., died since the war; Williams, Charles B., died since the war; Williams, Thomas, died during the war, at Gettysburg; Williams, C. W.; Williams, A. L. P., gallant color-bearer at Gettysburg, wounded, and captured there; Wilkes, B. Calvin.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch* Feb. 14, 1897.]

POUNCING ON PICKETS.

Bold Dash of a Detachment of the 9th Virginia Cavalry.

FORTY-NINE YANKEES CAPTURED.

A Well-Planned and Neatly-Executed Nocturnal Raid Interestingly Related by One of the Participants—Perilious Return Journey.

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

In the latter part of the month of November, 1862, the 9th Virginia Cavalry Regiment, commanded by Colonel R. L. T. Beale, held position on the extreme right of General Lee's army on the Rappahannock, and were encamped in the vicinity of Lloyd's, in Essex county. The duties of the regiment were to guard the river shore with an extended line of pickets. These pickets were frequently aroused and entertained by the passage up the river of Federal gunboats and transports, communicating with Burnside's army at Fredericksburg. Quite frequently, also, an exchange of rifle shots was made with the Federal pickets on the Northern Neck shore of the river.

Many men of this regiment had their homes and families on that side of the river, and the sight of the Union horsemen riding unchecked over the roads and fields so familiar to them aroused in many breasts an intense desire to cross the river and strike the enemy a blow. Into this feeling none entered more heartily than the Colonel himself. Accordingly, scouts were dispatched to ascertain the enemy's exact position, strength, disposition of sentinels, and also to search for boats sufficient to carry over several hundred troops. An application was at the same time forwarded to headquarters for permission to cross the river with 300 men.

The scouts returned promptly, having ascertained that one cavalry regiment—the Eighth Pennsylvania—was on outpost duty, encamped at Greenlaw's, in King George, and picketing the river as far down as Layton's Ferry. One squadron, quartered at Leedstown, held the extreme left of their line. The scouts carefully noted the houses in which the men of this squadron slept, where their horses were picketed, and how their sentinels were posted at night. Only two

boats—a large batteau and a skiff—could be secured, and these were duly provided with oars and concealed in a marshy creek, a mile or two above Leedstown, in readiness for use.

These preliminaries having been arranged, the necessary permit from General Lee was awaited impatiently. It came on the 1st of December, but forbade that more than one hundred men should be allowed on the expedition, or an officer holding rank above that of major. In consequence, the purpose of attacking the entire Federal regiment, was abandoned, and a plan arranged for capturing the squadron at Leedstown.

ENTRUSTED TO MAJOR WALLER.

The execution of this plan was entrusted to Major Thomas Waller, as cool and intrepid an officer as ever wore stars on his collar. To the call for volunteers, more than a hundred responded from the regiment. As the point of attack was in Westmoreland, from which county, Company C hailed, the men of this company offered to go almost in a body.

On reaching the shore of the little creek in which the boats were concealed, about dark, December 1, 1862, it was found that their capacity was much less than had been supposed. Thirty-six men seemed as many as the larger boat would carry, and only fourteen could be accomodated in the skiff. Major Waller commanded the batteau, and Lieutenant G. W. Beale, the skiff. The night was cold and dark, and it was necessary to maintain the strictest silence. The boats were rowed noislessly out into the river, the officers in charge having a preconcerted plan to rendezvous at a given point on the other shore, in the event of becoming separated in the dark. This proved a wise precaution, for the boats became quickly lost to each other. The skiff being light and easily managed, shot straight across and quickly reached the other shore. The larger boat drifted down with the tide, and grounded on a sand-bar far out in the river. It was necessary for a number of the men to get out into the icy-water, waist deep, and push the craft over the bar by main force. A landing was made by Major Waller's party half a mile lower down the river than had been contemplated. Leaving two men as guards to the batteau, he joined the party under Lieutenant Beale at a straw stack, the place of rendezvous that had been agreed upon.

Here a number of details of scouts were made to proceed as quietly and stealthily as possible for the purpose of capturing the

enemy's picket-guards. There were six of these, at as many different points, and it needed much adroitness and boldness of action to secure them all without an alarm being made. The plan was for two men to get in rear of each picket, and two to advance upon them quietly in the dark. If one set failed to bag the game, it was thought the other would. And so it proved. The pickets were captured without breaking the stillness of the night with the faintest alarm.

Having secured the outer guards, it was next necessary to capture the reserve guards, who were fifteen in number, and occupied a vacant store in Leedstown, where they slept on their arms, having their horses saddled and bridled, close at hand. The writer of this account led the party advancing to the capture of this reserve, having at his side "Pete" Stewart, an old Mexican soldier, and a tried and trusty scout. From the shadow of an adjacent house, as we drew near to the store, the form of the sentinel was descried under the porch. The moon was just rising, throwing a gleam on the river, the sound of whose flowing only disturbed the perfect stillness of the night. Our pause was but for a moment, when a dash was made for the steps leading up to the door of the store. The startled sentinel ran for the steps, too, without pausing to fire his carbine. He had nearly reached the uppermost step, when "Pete" Stewart, grasping him by his coat-tail, pulled him back. The Union horsemen in the store were made prisoners by the time they had well cast aside the blankets under which they had been cosily sleeping. Indeed, so rapid and sudden had we fallen on the unsuspecting sleepers that some of them were assisted by us in waking, by having their blankets pulled off them by our own hands.

PRISONERS RELEASED.

In this store, at the time of our entrance, were two Confederate prisoners, members of the 15th Virginia Cavalry, who had been captured the previous day, and also a citizen (and his goods), caught running the blockade. The joy of these men at their unexpected release was so great that it was neeeful to suppress its demonstration, lest the enemy near by should hear it.

Having placed the prisoners and their horses under guard, Major Walker's next aim was to surround and capture the main body of the enemy, who occupied the residence of Dr. Thomas Taylor (the assistant surgeon of Ninth Virginia Regiment), a quarter of a mile distant. The march towards this building was made as noislessly as

possible. When yet distant a hundred yards or more a bright fire was seen in the yard, and a sentinel pacing to and fro on his beat in in front of it. It seemed as we drew nearer that he would not detect our approach in time to give an alarm, when, suddenly, "Bang!" went the report of the gun of one of our men, whose excitement had quite overcome his discretion. Instantly, the Federal sentinel returned the shot and rushed for the main building.

No time was now lost by Major Waller in surrounding the dwelling and smaller houses. The demand to surrender was answered from doors and windows by small volleys, which fired in the dark, did no harm. With the aid of a gun barrel and a few rails, the doors of the main building were forced open, when a general surrender at once followed.

Captain Samuel Wilson, a soldier of fine appearance and splendid physique, commanded the Federal squadron, and it looked for a moment as if he had determined to die, rather than yield. When he at length yielded up his weapon, and was made a prisoner, his face wore an air of resolute defiance, mingled with mortified pride.

When the prisoners had been got together, it was found that forty-nine had been here captured, with their horses, saddles, bridles, arms and accoutrements.

The problem now was, how to get the prisoners and horses across the river, which was nearly a mile in width. A large lighter, capable of carrying one hundred men, or more, was found near the water's edge at Leedstown, and this was quickly launched. The prisoners were put into it, with a suitable guard of men, and the boat was speedily poled over (as the watermen say), to the Essex shore.

The approach of daylight, and the prospect of a gunboat's appearance, made the passage of the captured horses a hazardous undertaking. It was decided to take the horses two miles higher up the river, where the stream was narrower, and the banks higher, where better security was offered against gunboats, and a better opportunity could be found for swimming over the horses. The two boats were rowed up to the latter point, where, after the arrival of the men with the horses, the saddles, blankets, and arms were put in the boats, and the horses were all lashed together by their halter-reins. In this way, strung together in a long line, they were forced after the large boat into the river, and were made to swim across.

A COLD SWIM.

The water was a full half-mile in width, and had on it a skim of ice

near the shore. The prolonged bath must have been very severe to the horses; but they stood it well. All were safely landed, save one, which, being lean, was benumbed by the cold water, and when its feet touched the mud on the Essex side, it would make no further effort, and was left to perish.

By sunrise the expedition had been safely landed, the boats concealed, and the men, having mounted their horses, and leading the captured ones, were on the march to the camp, at Lloyds.

The colonel of the regiment to soothe, in part, his disappointment in not being permitted to cross the river himself, had taken position advantageously on the bank, with a section of artillery under command of Lieutenant Betts, intending to arrest the progress of any gunboat that might chance to appear, and endanger the expedition. From his station he listened through the still hours, anxiously, and not in vain, for the sounds of volleys and yells that would tell of the successful assault of his men.

Only one casualty occurred among the enemy, and that was the painful wounding of a man under the eye.

The boldness and success of the enterprise were recognized and commended in general orders, issued from the headquarters of the army; and the disaster to the Federal regiment is mentioned in the official history of the Pennsylvania regiments, published by that State. Major H. B. McClellan, in "The Life and Campaigns of General J, E. B. Stuart," briefly refers to the affair in a sentence, in in which the Boston printer gives the name of our major, erroneously, as Weller.

Of the participants in this nocturnal raid, I can now recall but few among the living. Among these is Major R. Bird Lewis, the president of the Confederate Veteran Association of Washington, D. C., who was a sergeant at the time, and the only man on our side who was wounded. Dr. Gordon F. Bowie, of Richmond county, was one of the men who took an icy bath in shoving the batteau over the sand-bar. William R. Rust, of Colonial Beach, was active in forcing open the door of the house, where the chief danger was met. Lawrence Washington, of Oak Grove, rendered valuable service in surprising and capturing the most important of the pickets, and to him the Union captain surrendered his pistol in the last encounter. Jones and Johnson, the scouts who were sent over the river in advance, and who served as guides on the night of the expedition, have long since found their graves, not far from the scene of the exploit.

Brave Colonel Thomas Waller, as he was afterwards known, has

gone, now, also, to join the "silent majority." Like most of his old comrades, he early last year ended his useful and worthy life, and, like them, crossed the dark and lonely river that is never stirred by a returning oar, and across whose silent flood no sound is ever wafted back.

[From the Richmond (Va.) *Times*, Feb. 23, 1896.]

THE BLACK HORSE TROOP.

The Members of the House of Delegates, Who Served in the Famous Body.

PILCHER, LEWIS AND TALLIAFERRO.

All Made Enviable Records in the Daring and Gallant Band of Soldiers—A Brief Sketch of the Black Horse and Its Commanders.

One of the most gallant, serviceable, and picturesque contingents of the Army of Northern Virginia, was that famous company of cavalry known as the Black Horse Troop, which won such bright laurels for its daring exploits, and the valuable information and aid it rendeered the Confederate commanders in some of the greatest engagements of the Civil war.

In many respects it was a remarable body of men, composed as it was, of handsome, strapping, debonair Virginians, admirably horsed and equipped, in whose natures the spirit of chivalry was an abiding trait that marked the flight of their banner from the outbreak to the close of the war.

They wielded their sabres like the cuirassiers of old, and used their pistols with the truth and nerve of expert marksmen. They so familiarized themselves with the country in which they operated, that they kept the enemy continuously speculating on their movements by checkmating them at every point in the game of war, and achieved such prestige by their strange ubiquity and stratagem that the name of their little legion became a watchword for danger and a signal for action with the Union troops. The Black Horse was organ-

ized in 1859, just two years before the war broke out, and first figured at Harper's Ferry in the John Brown raid.

Colonel John Scott, of Warrenton, Virginia, was its first captain, and gave the troop its name. Colonel Scott, who has retired from active life, was for many years a conspicuous figure in that section of the State as Commonwealth's Attorney, and is well known as the author of "The Lost Principle," a "Life of Mosby," and other literary works. Its next commander was the gallant Bob Randolph, of the distinguished family of that name, and who was afterwards promoted to Colonel.

On the 18th of May, 1861, the following officers of the Black Horse were sworne in: William H. Payne, captain; Robert Randolph, C. H. Gordon, A. D. Payne, lieutenants; Willian Smith, James H. Childs, Robert Mitchell, Richard Lewis, sergeants; Willington Millon, Madison C. Tyler, George N. Shumate, N. A. Clopton, corporals; William Johnson, bugler, and William E. Gaskins, quartermaster. They were subsequently incorporated into the Fourth Virginia Regiment, and permission was given to recruit it for a battalion. The first sustained march of the Black Horse was to Harper's Ferry. It afterwards advanced to Manassas and Fairfax Courthouse; its work at the battle of Bull Run was so graphically reported by the Union troops that further comment is unnecessary. The company numbered over one hundred men, and its fine appearance had begun to attract the attention of the great cavalry leaders under Lee, and it was appointed to serve as a body guard to General Joseph E. Johnston.

DEEDS OF DARING.

The families of Fauquier and adjoining counties, from each of which two or more members of the Black Horse had been recruited, were the Carters, Childses, Colberts, Downmans, Diggses, Edmonds, Fants, Greens, Gordons, Gaskinses, Georges, Helmns, Huntons, Hamiltons, Keiths, Lewises, Lees, Lomaxes, Lathams, Martins, Paynes, Rectors, Scotts, Smiths, Striblings, Talliaferros, and Vapes. Other families were represented by Lawrence Ashton, William Bowen, J. E. Barbour, William Ficklin, R. A. Grey, Alexander Hunter, Robert Hart, George L. Holland, Strother Jones, T. N. Pilcher, John Robinson, James Rector, W. A. Smoot, William Spilman, W. B. Skinker, William H. Triplett, Madison Tyler, Johnsie Longue, J. W. Towson, W. N. Thorn, Melville Withers, and others.

In its operations, until the army began its movement from Manassas to Yorktown, the Black Horse, being familiar with the counties of Prince William, Fauquier, and Culpeper, through which the army was about to cross, and having a complete knowledge of the roads, water-courses, and points suitable for camping, was of great value in furnishing guides, for which purpose large details were made from it.

In that famous charge at the battle of Williamsburg, with all the color-bearers and buglers at the head of the columns, with not a sabre or pistol drawn in the whole regiment, and impeded by a dense wood, where they had run into the mouth of McClellan's army of fifty thousand strong, the sable plumes of the Black Horse waved, and when Colonel Wickham was pierced through the body, General, then Major William H. Payne, took command, and was himself next day badly wounded. Details were at that time made from the Black Horse to carry dispatches between the general commanding, and Fort McGruder. Judge James Keith, of the present Court of Appeals of Virginia, then a private in the company, is said to have made many marvelous escapes, and greatly distinguished himself.

General Longstreet, wishing men for picket duty, after failing to secure a guide from that section of the country, was much annoyed, when General Stuart remarked that he always counted on the Black Horse in emergencies. "Send to it," Stuart said, "and you will be furnished with a guide to any point in Virginia." It so happened that some of the men had attended William and Mary College as students, and knew the roads as well as their own in Fauquier. The Black Horse took part in the raid around McClellan, simply for observation, and it is a miracle that they were not all captured.

VALUABLE SERVICE.

No historian has yet been born who could follow the Black Horse in the role it played in the seven days' fight. General Lee, learning that Burnside had moved by sea from North Carolina to reinforce General Pope, as McClellan was at Fredericksburg, sent General Stuart with his brigade, of which the Black Horse formed a part, to make a reconnoisance in that direction. The Black Horse saw some very active service and gained information that proved valuable to the army. They afterwards helped to drive Pope across the Rappahannock, and now being in that part of the State in which many of them were reared, the troop was called upon to furnish guides to the different commanders, and in the army's future movements upon General Pope, was of great service.

Stonewall Jackson soon discovered what good stuff the Black Horse was composed of, and detailed the company to act at his headquarters as guides and couriers. Captain A. D. Payne, who was then first lieutenant, was sent back with half of the troopers to meet General Lee, who was following Jackson when marching against Pope's great army. It is said that the Black Horse looked like a company of holiday soldiers, so gay were they in demeanor, and so well groomed were their horses. At the second battle of Manassas, they were engaged in carrying General Jackson's orders to and fro between the various commanders of the troops in action, thus witnessing and bearing their part in that famous struggle, when a number of the corps were seriously wounded and several killed. Two privates of the Black Horse offered their beautiful chargers to Generals Lee and Jackson when they marched into Maryland.

In the first Maryland campaign, before General Jackson's corps entered Boonesboro, he sent a squad of the Black Horse, commanded by Lieutenant A. D. Payne, through the town to picket the approaches from the opposite direction. Lieutenant Payne had nineteen men and the charge was against twenty times their number, but General Jackson was saved from capture. It was a desperate charge and the enemy was deceived and routed. Payne remarked to his men: "We must relieve our general at all hazards. I rely upon your courage to save him."

In the winter of 1862–'63, the Black Horse occupied their native heath, and scouted the counties of Fauquier and Stafford thoroughly, reporting all the movements of the enemy to Generals Lee and Jackson, who complimented them for their effective service. They participated in the various engagements of Stuart with Pleasanton's cavalry, and in the fight at Waynesboro against Sheridan's famous cohorts, the Black Horse was the leading squadron of the Fourth Virginia. It was in this battle that one of Sheridan's captains displayed great valor, wounding four of the Black Horse with his sabre; and leading a charge, his men following but a short distance, the gallant Yankee captain dashed on without looking behind and was unaccompanied, into the very head of the Black Horse column. Not wishing to cut down so dashing a fellow, who had put himself in their power, no one fired at him. Some of the men knocked him from his horse, when Captain Henry Lee observing a Masonic sign, rushed to his assistance, and saved him from further harm.

Mr. Hugh Hamilton, an old Black Horseman, who is now treasurer of Fauquier county, in relating his reminiscences of those times,

said the other day with a smile playing over his bland and good-natured features: "When we boys were not in the thick of the fight, or engaged in carrying news and scouting, we were not supine. With no Federals to shoot or watch, we would have fun over an impromptu fox chase, or take possession of some private half-mile track, and stake our best riders and swiftest horses against each other in match races. Our mounts were the best that money could buy, and as they were individual property, we had to replace them in the event of loss, which was generally done by capture from the enemy."

The Green family furnished a generous quota to the Black Horse, and they all distinguished themselves in one way or another. All three of them had figured in the great tournaments for which that section was famous in ante-bellum days, and when called upon to enter the lists which involved life and property, their nerve, zeal, and splendid horsemanship proved them to be not toy knights, but soldiers in the Spartan sense of the word.

When General William H. Payne was promoted, he was succeeded as captain, by Lieutenant Robert Randolph, and Lieutenant A. D. Payne followed Captain Randolph, and was the last captain of the Black Horse. General Payne has frequently been offerred preferment since the war, but has turned his heart away from political life, and is content to follow the quiet pursuits of his profession. He is still in the vigor of manhood, and is the present counsel for the Richmond and Danville system of the Southern Railroad.

Captain A. D. Payne, whose untimely death about two years ago, was deeply lamented in Virginia, had achieved distinction and success as a lawyer, and a brilliant tribute to his memory by the members of the Warrenton bar appears on the minutes of the court.

At the close of the war, when the Black Horse disbanded at Warrenton, General Payne delivered a valedictory to the men from his saddle, which is said, by those who were present, to have been a gem of emotional eloquence.

THREE MEMBERS IN THE HOUSE.

The above brief outline of the history of the famous Black Horse Troop, taken from an article written on the subject by Mr. Raphael S. Payne, is highly interesting to all who have the history of Virginia at heart, and especially in connection with the present session of the General Assembly, when it becomes known that three survi-

vors of the gallant Black Horse are at present members of the House of Delegates, namely, Messrs. T. C. Pilcher, of Fauquier; Richard Lewis, of Culpeper, and Charles C. Talliaferro, of Orange.

Mr. Pilcher, one of the five members who have been sent to the House by their constituents three times in succession, is known to every one who has ever come in contact with the General Aesembly, while he has been a member of it. His unswerving Democracy, the honesty of his sterling character, and the courage of his convictions are doubted by no one. While not blesssed with as much literary education as some of his colleagues, he is gifted with a high degree of common sense. His arguments are often drastic, but always to the point, and the brightness of his power of conception naturally makes him one of the most prominent leaders of his party, and his influence is felt as soon as he rises in his seat to give the House his counsel and advice on any measure in which he takes an interest.

RICHARD LEWIS.

Mr. Richard Lewis, the present member of the House of Delegates from Culpeper county, was born in 1838, in the adjoining county of Fauquier, and was actively engaged in farming until the outbreak of the war, when he enlisted in the Black Horse Battalion, going at once to the scene of the John Brown raid. Immediately after the battle of Chancellorsville he was detailed as a scout, acting under the direct orders of Generals J. E. B. Stuart and R. E. Lee. He was repeatedly commended by both commanders for his courage and faithfulness. During the fight in the Wilderness he was severely wounded, but recovered, and was enabled to be at the side of General Stuart at his death.

On one occasion, while scouting along the railroad in the lines of the enemy with another scout, he was suddenly confronted by four Yankee officers, who commanded him to surrender In the fight that followed, two of the officers were killed and one escaped—thanks to the speed of his horse. The remaining officer was severely wounded. On account of this fight, after the war a squad of cavalry was sent to capture Mr. Lewis, but the officer in charge investigated the matter, and after ascertaining that it had been a fair fight, let the matter drop.

On another occasion Mr. Lewis distinguished himself by desperately fighting his way through a detachment of cavalry by which he had been surrounded. In his capacity as a scout he was continually

in the lines of the enemy, passing frequently at night the entire length of the army.

After the war Mr. Lewis married a Culpeper lady, and moved into that county, where he has successfully followed the fortunes of a farmer. In the primary election last fall he was the Democratic nominee for the seat in the House of Delegates.

Colonel J. Catlett Gibson, the former representative of Culpeper county in the House, ran against him as an independent candidate, but was defeated. While Mr. Lewis is not much given to public speaking on account of his modest and retiring disposition, yet he is well known to all connected with the General Assembly as the author of the various military bills that have been introduced in the House during the present session.

CHARLES C. TALIAFERRO.

Mr. Charles C. Taliaferro, the present representative of Orange county in the House of Delegates, was born on January 26, 1842, in Martinsburg, W. Va., where his father, the Rev. Charles C. Taliaferro, was in charge of the parish. His parents died before he was three years old, and he was then taken in charge by his uncle, Dr. Taliaferro, who soon afterwards removed to Orange county, Va., which county has been his home for the greater part of his life. At the breaking out of the civil war he entered the army before he was eighteen years old. On July 1, 1861, he enlisted in the First Company, Richmond Howitzers, but was transferred in October following to the Black Horse Battalion, where he remained for two years. He then joined Co. F, of the Sixth Virginia Cavalry, where he remained until the close of the war. He participated in all the cavalry battles and engagements of the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia, such as Brandy Station, Spotsylvania Courthouse, First and Second Manassas, Sharpsburg. He followed General Stuart around McClellan's army and assisted in the burning of all the supplies of the latter at Whitehouse. With two comrades, William Smoot, of Alexandria, and another one by the name of Green, he joined the Seventeenth Virginia Infantry and fought with them at Cold Harbor, Frazier's farm, and Malvern Hill.

After the war Mr. Taliaferro went to Mississippi, where he taught school at Greenville, and from there he removed to Macon, Ga., and in 1870 to Savannah, where he conducted a private school until 1882. In October, 1881, he married a Miss Barclay, of Savannah, and

upon the death of his wife in 1892 he returned to Virginia, to his old homestead in Orange county. His family residence is one of the old homesteads in this country that have been deeded from the crown by George III, and which has never passed from the possession of his family.

Mr. Taliaferro never took an active part in politics until the Cleveland election in 1892. Last fall he entered into a contest with Mr. George Barbour, and during the present session he has made a very efficient and useful member of the House of Delegates. Among the bills of general importance which have been introduced by Mr. Taliaferro is one doing away with the evil of professional jurors in the various courts by allowing persons only to serve one term annually in the different courts. Another one of his bills requires county treasurers to give bonds furnished by security companies. He also is the father of a game law for the counties of Culpeper, Orange, Spotsylvania, Louisa, Stafford and King George, and of a road law for his county.

[From the Richmond *Times* Feb. 21, 1897.]

RUNNING THE BLOCKADE.

Daring Exploits at Charleston in War Times.

Some Lucky Vessels that made their Way through the Federal Fleets Repeatedly Without Detection.

CHARLESTON, S. C., *February 6, 1897.*

The blockade of this harbor and the naval manoeuvres off Charleston bar next week, have brought out some interesting reminiscences of the genuine blockade of the sixties.

There are numbers of men surviving, who ran the blockade through the United States fleet, but most of the masters of the vessels are dead.

Among those still to be seen in Charleston are Captains Sim Adkins, A. O. Stone, William F. Adair, F. N. Bonneau, and Edward Morse.

Captain H. S. Lebby, one of the most daring of Charleston's blockade runners, is now in the Sailors' Snug Harbor.

In most instances the vessels were of English build, small, fast, with powerful engines, and of the type known as Clyde steamers. Their color assimilated that of the clouds, or a light lilac, the object being to prevent discovery by Federal cruisers, and it was often the case that it enabled the steamers to avoid and escape pursuit.

The *Margaret and Jessie* belonged to this category. She was an iron steamer of about 600 tons, and under the name of *Douglas* had plied regularly between the Isle of Man and Liverpool. Provided with double engines and a powerful frame, there were few vessels of her class, which in smooth water, could show a cleaner pair of heels to others in pursuit.

Her capacity for storing cotton was equal to about 800 bales, and the usual time made between Charleston and Nassau did not exceed on an average forty-four hours.

She was purchased in 1862 by John Fraser & Co., for £20,000, and during eight round trips met with uninterrupted good luck, making money for her owners, and fame for her commander, Captain R. W. Lockwood. The latter was known to be not only one of the best pilots on the coast, but also a brave, dashing, yet judicious commander.

Captain Lockwood's good luck did not follow him after the war. He died about ten years ago, many believe from the effects of the loss of the Clyde steamer *Champion*, of which he was in command, which was lost on her way from New York to Charleston.

Few of the blockade-runners were fitted with accommodations for passengers. Nevertheless two, three, or a half dozen might generally be found on every incoming and outgoing steamer.

Not infrequently some of these were women. The men were either Confederate agents, business men in speculation, or persons seeking to avoid service in the Confederate army.

The fate of the larger proportion of these vessels may be inferred. Some succumbed to the perils of the deep, some were run ashore and wrecked to avoid capture, some became prizes to the Federal fleet.

Some of the vessels ran into four different ports, and it may be added that a number of them made from six to eighteen voyages. It was rare that a craft was captured on her first voyage, and it could be pretty safely figured that she would make two trips, and this generally paid for her cost and voyage expenses, and left a handsome sum in addition.

Among many daring and successful exploits was that of the steam-

ship *Sumter*, Captain E. C. Reid, laden with two Blakely guns, each weighing, with their carriages, etc., thirty-eight tons.

These, with two hundred rounds of amunition, were all she had aboard. The length of the guns necessitated their being loaded in an upright position in the hatchways for a voyage across the Atlantic, and the steamer at sea had the appearance of having three smoke stacks.

Captain Reid boldly ran her, in broad daylight, through the fleet into Wilmington, North Carolina, despite a shower of shot and shell. These two guns were presented to the Confederate Government by John Fraser & Co.

One of these enormous guns was mounted at White Point Garden, and was never near enough to the enemy to be fired. In February, 1865, at the evacuation of the city, it was burst, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Federal army, and this explosion damaged some of the surrounding property. A fragment of this gun, weighing 500 pounds, is now lodged in the rafters of the roof of the residence on East Battery, now occupied by A. F. Chisholm.

The *Margaret and Jessie*, Captain R. W. Lockwood, was one of the most successful runners of the war, and paid her owners ten times over.

One night in May, 1863, having a very valuable cargo of arms and munitions sadly needed by the Confederacy, she laid a straight course for Charleston.

There were five Federal blockaders off the bar, and the night was fine. The steamer ran straight in for the fleet, and as soon as her character was known every blockader opened fire. It was estimated that 150 shots were fired, some from a distance of less than 200 feet, and yet, strange to say, the steamer got into port without having a man wounded.

She was struck in five or six places, but with no serious results.

On November 11th of the same year, the *Margaret and Jessie* attempted the same bold dodge at Wilmington. She was here beset by three blockaders, shot through both wheels, and hit in a dozen other spots, but managed to turn about and get at sea, and lead five Federal vessels a chase of twenty hours before she was compelled to surrender.

The steamer *Hattie*, Captain H. S. Lebby, was the last runner in or out of Charleston. She was a small vessel, Clyde built, furnished with powerful engines, and she made more trips than any other vessel engaged in the business.

On several occasions she brought such munitions of war which the Confederacy was in pressing need of, and at least three battles were fought with munitions for which the Confederates had waited, and which she landed safely in their hands.

Plot after plot was formed at Nassau to get hold of the *Hattie*, but none of them were successful. She slipped in and out like a phantom, taking the most desperate risks, and being attended by quite extraordinary good luck.

The last entrance of the *Hattie* into Charleston occurred one night in Febuary, 1865. The Confederacy was then in extremis, and the Federal fleet off Charleston, numbered eighteen or twenty sail.

It was a starlight night, and at an early hour, the *Hattie* crept forward among the fleet. She had been freshly painted a blue-white, her fire made no smoke, and not a light was permitted to shine on board. With her engines moving slowly, she let the wind drive her forward There were eight or ten vessels outside the bar, and as many within. Those outside were successfully passed without an alarm being raised. The *Hattie* ran within 300 feet of two different blockaders without her presence being detected. To the naked eye of the lookouts she must have seemed a hazy mist moving slowly along.

The little steamer was quietly approaching the inner line of blockaders, when a sudden fire was opened on her from a gunboat not 200 feet distant, and the air at the same time was filled with rockets to announce the runner's presence.

At that time the Federals had the whole of Morris Island, and Fort Sumter had been so battered to pieces that monitors took up their stations almost in pistol shot of it.

As soon as the *Hattie* was discovered, all steam was put on and she was headed straight for the channel. She ran a terrible gauntlet of shot and shell for ten minutes, but escaped untouched.

Then came the real peril. Just below Sumter, in the narrowest part of the channel, the *Hattie* encountered two barge-loads of men stationed there on picket.

Her extraordinary speed saved her from being boarded, but the volleys fired after her wounded two or three men and cut three fingers off the hand of the pilot holding the spokes of the wheel.

Two hundred yards ahead lay a monitor, and she at once opened fire and kept her guns going as long as the *Hattie* could be seen, but not a missile struck, and she arrived safely at her wharf.

This was marvelous, considering that the steamer ran so close that she could hear the orders given on the monitor.

Charleston was being bombarded, many of the business houses closed, and all could see that the end was drawing near. The *Hattie* was in as much danger lying at the wharf, as she would be outside, and a cargo was made up for her as quickly as possible, and she was made ready for her last trip.

Just before dark the sentinels on Fort Sumter counted twenty-six Federal blockaders off Charleston harbor, and yet the *Hattie* coolly made her preparations to run out. Just before midnight, with a starlight night and smooth sea, the lucky little craft picked her way through all that fleet without being hailed or a gun fired, and she was lying at Nassau when the news of Lee's surrender was received.

The following gives an idea of the magnitude of the business and a glimpse at the wasteful and reckless manner of living in those times.

"I never expect to see such flush times again in my life," said the captain of a successful blockade-runner in speaking of Nassau. "Money was almost as plenty as dirt. I have seen a man toss up twenty-dollar gold pieces on 'head or tail,' and it would be followed by a score of the 'yellow boys' in five seconds.

"There were times when the bank vaults would not hold all the gold, and the coins were dumped down by the bushel and guarded by the soldiers.

"Men wagered, gambled, drank, and seemed crazy to get rid of their money. I once saw two captains put up $500 each on the length of a porch. Again I saw a wager of $800 a side as to how many would be at the dinner table of a hotel."

The Confederates were paying the English importers and jobbers at Nassau large prices for goods, but these figures of cost were multiplied enormously in the Confederacy. The price of cotton was not increased in the same ratio, and this large difference in values between imports and exports gave the enormous profits which induced these ventures.

Ten dollars invested in quinine in Nassau would bring from $400 to $600 in Charleston.—*New York Sun.*

[From the Raleigh *News and Observer*, February, 1896.]

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN.

An Incident in the Financial History of the Confederate States.

The success which the government has met in negotiating its recent loan brings to mind an incident in the financial history of the late Confederacy not generally known, and which may be interesting and instructive to recall. In the winter of 1862–'63 the Confederate Congress decided to place a loan of $10,000,000 on the European market. The French financier who came over here to confer with the authorities at Richmond, Va., in the matter strongly urged upon Mr. Memminger, the Secretary of the Treasury, and upon the joint committee of the Congress the advisability of making the loan—one or two or five hundred millions—stating that it would be entirely practicable to negotiate such a loan; and gave as a reason that it would be most desirable to get his country and other European States financially interested in the Confederate cause.

As the payment of the loan was to be contingent upon the success of the South, those thus financially interested could be expected to exert an influence favorable to the Confederacy, and might force their respective governments to recognize the independence of the Southern States and lend them valuable aid as a means of securing the repayment of their money thus subscribed.

It appears that Secretary Memminger favored the suggestion of the French banker, but that Congress decided to adhere to its first determination; and in February, 1863, the loan was placed on the Paris Bourse.

When the result was announced it astonished Europe, and convicted the Confederate authorities of a failure in statesmanship. Bids amounting to more than $400,000,000 were made.

It is idle now to speculate as to what effect on the prosecution of the war the investment of so large a sum of money by the people of France in the fortunes of the Confederacy would have had; but it is entirely possible that the Emperor Napoleon III would have been obliged to recognize the political authority of the Southern States when his countrymen evinced in a way so remarkable their supreme confidence in the ability of the Confederacy to obtain their independence. Recognized by one of the great Powers of Europe,

and $400,000,000 of gold on hand for the purchase of ships and other military supplies in the spring of 1863, the strategy of the Gettysburg campaign might not have been required, and the thousands of valuable lives sacrificed from that time on to Appomattox might have been saved to the South.

[From the Wilmington (N. C.) *Messenger*, March, 1896.]

FAYETTEVILLE ARSENAL.

History of the Sixth (N. C.) Battalion Armory Guards.

HON. WALTER CLARK, *Raleigh, N. C.:*

Dear Sir—In obedience to your request, I beg leave respectfully to write a sketch of the "6th Battalion Armory Guard," stationed at the Fayetteville Arsenal and Armory during the war between the States.

It may be well to give a brief sketch of the Fayetteville Arsenal and Armory as a matter of historical record, touching the construction of the various buildings (as there is not a vestage of it left), having been totally destroyed by General Sherman on his famous march through the Carolinas. The Fayetteville Arsenal and Armory was located on what is known as "Hay Mount," which overlooks the historic old city of Fayetteville, and was constructed by the United States Government previous to the war, under the immediate supervision of Mr. William Bell, as architect; but in charge of various army officers of high distinction as commandants of the post. It was one of the loveliest spots anywhere in the South, and was very often visited by strangers from various States, and greatly admired. Conspicuous octagonal high brick and stone towers were located at the four corners of the enclosure, while symmetrical walls and massive iron railing and heavy iron gates surrounded the premises. Handsome, two-story brick and stone buildings for officers' quarters and the accommodation of the troops adorned the front and sides, while in the centre, rear and both sides were large commodious buildings, used for the storing of small arms, fixed ammunition, commissary and quartermaster supplies. In the centre of the enclosure were the gun-carriage and machine-shops, the former with Mr.

T. S. Barratt as superintendent, who had served the United States Government formerly at Old Point Comfort for a number of years before the war, while in the rear part of this enclosure was a large rifle-factory, containing all of the rifle-works brought from Harper's Ferry, Va., and handsome frame dwellings for various officers' quarters. With the exception of these last, all the other buildings were constructed of brick, trimmed with stone. Mr. Bell continued during the entire war as architect of all buildings, and was a Scotchman of national reputation.

Some 100 yards from the rifle-factory were two large brick magazines for storage of powder and fixed ammunition.

OLD OFFICERS.

The commanding officers of this post, previous to the war, were in order as follows: Major Laidley, United States Army; Captain Dwyer, United States Army; Captain J. A. J. Bradford, United States Army, the latter being in command at the opening of hostilities as United States Army officer. Captain Bradford resigned from the United States Army, and was made colonel in the Confederate service. In 1863, I think it was, he was taken desperately ill, and died, and was buried with military honors by the battalion in the rear of the arsenal building, at his particular request. I had the honor of commanding the escort. There was stationed at the post, under command of Lieutenant J. A. DeLagnel, a company of United States Artillery, who held the post up to the day, when, by order of Governor John W. Ellis, General Walter Draughon, in command of the State militia, was ordered to take possession of the arsenal. General Draughon gathered his forces, consisting of the Fayetteville Independent Light Infantry Company, under command of Major Wright Huske; the Lafayette Light Infantry, under command of Captain Joseph B. Starr, and organized other companies from "Cross Creek," "Flea Hill," "Rock Fish," and "Que Whiffle" districts, representing branches of the artillery, cavalry and infantry service, numbering in all about 500 men. General Draughon ascended the hill and halted his command just outside of the arsenal enclosure, and made a formal demand of the surrender of this property in the name of his Excellency, John W. Ellis, Governor of the State.

Lieutenant DeLagnel accompanied General Draughon where he could make an inspection of his command, when the following conversation took place between himself and the famous old "Captain Bulla": Lieutenant DeLagnel halted in front of Captain Bulla's

command, and remarked to the captain that he had seemed to have arms but no ammunition, whereupon Captain Bulla ran his hands in both pockets of his pants, pulling out buckshot and powder-horns, and extending them to him, said: "Lieutenant DeLagnel, are these all the men you have to capture my battery and the arsenal?" "No," said Captain B., "the woods is full of them."

Lieutenant DeLagnel having satisfied himself that any effort on his part to resistance would be fruitless, not only on account of the number of Confederates opposing him, compared with his handful of men, coupled with Captain Bulla's announcement, that "the woods was full of them," the surrender was accomplished without the firing of a gun, except the salute by Lieutenant DeLagnel's battery on hauling down the United States Flag. Lieutenant DeLagnel, with his command, marched out of the enclosure with their small arms and equipments, and the State troops marched in and took possession. The State troops were kept on guard until the Confederate States' forces took charge.

RETURNED SOUTH.

Lieutenant DeLagnel took the steamer for Wilmington, and shipped by vessel for New York, where he gave up his command, and resigned his United States commission, and returned South and joined the Confederate army, and was one of the most distinguished and gallant officers in the service. He was severely wounded, I think, at the battle of "Rich Mountain," in Virginia, and for two days and nights remained in the woods within the enemy's lines for fear of being taken a prisoner, and without any attention of a surgeon to look after his wound, and it was in mid-winter, which caused him great suffering.

Captain John C. Booth was placed in command of the arsenal, and was also an old United States Army man, and thoroughly versed in ordnance duties, and selected for the position on that account. The task of organizing, enlarging the buildings, and adding an armory of construction was a gigantic undertaking. Captain Booth worked incessantly, never considering that every day his bodily strength was growing weaker, until he was forced to take to his bed, and in a few short months he died. He was buried with military honors by his battalion, and I had the honor of commanding the escort. He was an officer of marked ability, a splendid executive officer, and was universally loved by the entire army force. He was promoted to the

rank of major during his illness. On the death of Major Booth, Captain Charles P. Bolles assumed command, until Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. DeLagnel was placed in command, which was, I think, about three weeks. Colonel DeLagnel only remained at the post about six months, when he returned to the field again in Virginia. He was relieved at the arsenal by Lieutenant-Colonel F. L. Childs, who continued in command until the close of the war.

SIXTH BATTALION ARMORY GUARD.

The companies composing this command were the Ordnance Corps, of fifty men and three artificers—Joseph D. Gurley, Neill L. Monroe, and Alexander McDonald. Thomas Stevens, an old United States army sergeant, was appointed by Major Booth as ordnance sergeant and commissary and quartermaster-sergeant of the post.

The special duty of the Ordnance Corps was to perform guard duty. It was Company A, of the battalion.

Company B.

Captain—Armand L. DeRosset.
First Lieutenant—Ray.
Second Lieutenant—Monroe.
Third Lieutenant—Ritter.

This command was organized and drilled at this post, and constituted a part of this battalion until they were ordered to report at Wilmington to Major-General Whiting. Captain DeRosset left Fayetteville with 118 rank and file. On reaching the city of Wilmington, Company G of this battalion was thrown with Company B, as a battalion, with Captain DeRosset in command.

Captain DeRosset had been severely wounded twice in the battles in Virginia, and was again wounded at Averasboro, N. C., in 1865, a few days days before the surrender at Appomattox.

Company C—10 Men, Rank and File.

Captain—George W. Decker.
First Lieutenant—Charles R. Banks.
Second Lieutenant—Charles E. Roberts.
Third Lieutenant—Alonzo Garrison.

Company D—73 Men, Rank and File.

Captain—William P. Wemyes.
First Lieutenant—James F. Woodward.
Second Lieutenant—Samuel J. Walton.
Third Lieutenant—Malcolm McInnis.

Company E—61 Men, Rank and File.

Captain—Martin VanBuren Talley.
First Lieutenant—Robert F. Epps.
Second Lieutenant—William T. Battley.
Third Lieutenant—James A. Ahern.

Company F—69 Men, Rank and File—Cavalry.

Captain—James W. Strange.
First Lieutenant—R. H. Holliday.
Second Lieutenant—C. McMurray.
This command only remained for few months, and was transferred to the army in Virginia.

Company G—Sixty-one Men, Rank and File.

Captain—James D. Buie.
First Lieutenant—Lauchlin W. Currie.
Second Lieutenant—George W. Gates.

The total rank and file of this battalion was 509 men.

The battalion was as well drilled and as thoroughly disciplined as any command in the Confederate service.

When General Butler made his famous attack on Fort Fisher and attempted to land his troops, all work at the arsenal and armory was suspended, and this entire command were sent to report to Major-General Whiting. The command remained several days near Fort Fisher, and finding General Butler had abandoned his purpose, this command was ordered back to Fayetteville, and work again resumed in the various departments. The large majority of this battalion had been in many a hard-fought battle with Lee and Jackson, but, being skilled artisans and mechanics of a high order, they were detailed from their commands for this most important duty at the arsenal and armory, but they were always ready to obey the summons to the field.

The Confederate Government moved the Harper's Ferry machinery from the rifle factory there to the Fayetteville arsenal and armory, together with thirty-five men, with their families, with Mr. Phillips Burkhart as master-armorer. The service of these skilled workmen was highly appreciated, as the work turned out by them was greatly needed by the troops in the field. About 500 splendid rifles were turned out monthly, with any amount of small-arm ammunition, and numbers of heavy-size gun-carriages for sea-coast defences, and many light artillery gun-carriages and caissons.

As this is a matter of history, as I understand it, it will not be amiss to give the names of these pioneers from Harper's Ferry, who left their homes and followed the Southern flag, and cast their lot with the Southern cause. They were patriots worthy of their names, and a roll of them should be preserved. There were six Englishmen, whose names I have been unable to get, who also deserve especial mention at my hands for similar service.

HARPER'S FERRY MEN.

James Merrick, John Hewett, Otho Hewett, William Martin, William Copeland, Philip Schavman, William Nicholson, Tollect Duke, Louis Keyser, Joe Keyser, John Schilling, John Price, Timothy Harrington, Philip Burkhart, Joe Burkhart, McCloud Lewis, Jessie Graham, John Cord, Levi Decker, Thomas Boswell, Joe Boswell, V. Talley, J. E. P. Daingerfield, Jacob Sponcellor, Richard Clowe, Hamson Clowe, John Claspy, William Hewitt, and George W. Decker.

Sergeant Stephens deserves special mention at my hands. He was an old United States sergeant, and joined the Southern army at great peril. He was one of the most methodical and accurate accountants I ever knew—wrote a beautiful hand-writing, was never sick, or lost a day during the four years he was in our service.

When Lieutenant-Colonel DeLagnel was returned to the field the command of the arsenal and armory devolved upon me for about two months—until the arrival of Major F. L. Childs.

The following is a roll of the various officers who were at this post at various times during the war:

Major John C. Booth, Captain Charles P. Bolles (Captain Bolles had been employed on the coast survey by the United States Government for many years previous to the war, and was a man of marked ability. Since the close of hostilities he has been employed

by the United States Government in the Bureau of Hydrography at Washington, D. C. Captain Samuel A. Ashe was the assistant to Captain Bolles in the laboratory and was a most valuable officer in that department.) Lieutenant-Colonel J. A. DeLagnel, Lieutenant-Colonel F. L. Childs, Captain Samuel A. Ashe, Captain John L. Holmes, Captain J. E. P. Dangerfield, Dr. Benjamin Robinson, as surgeon of post; T. J. Robinson, as superintendent of laboratory, from his long experience in that branch of business in Washington, D. C., Captain J. E. P. Dangerfield was made military storekeeper and paymaster by Major Booth from long experience at the arsenal and armory at Harper's Ferry.

Thomas C. DeRosset acted as Secretary in Colonel Child's office, Mr. Robert Johnson was chief clerk, and E. P. Powers assistant to Johnson. In the military storekeeper's office was William J. Woodward, who was placed in the ordnance department by Major Booth and General J. Gorgas, Chief of the Ordnance Bureau at Richmond, and he was one of the most efficient officers at the post. On the approach of General Sherman's army all work, of course, was suspended, and the entire command, after removing all the machinery possible, together with the large amount of supplies, were ordered in camp, and remained there until the surrender of Greensboro.

MATTHEW P. TAYLOR,
Major 6th Battalion, Armory Guard.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, March 22, 1896.]

A BRILLIANT RECORD.

The Nottoway Grays (Co. G), Eighteenth Virginia Regiment, Pickett's Division.

This company nearly twenty years ago took steps to complete a roll of its officers and men. At general meetings, annually held, the roll was made, the main difficulty having been to get the full names and records of the men who, as conscripts, were assigned to it in the latter year of the war, and who, as a general thing, came from counties not represented in the original company.

The company was organized January 12, 1861, with a roll, rank and file of fifty. Of this number there remained with the command thirty-three—the others having resigned or were discharged as unfit for service—during the four years—

Of these (33) there were killed in battle,	9
Died in service,	6
Wounded,	15
	30

Three escaped casualty.

The company was mustered into service April 21, 1861, assigned to the 18th Regiment, Colonel R. E. Withers, and left Camp Lee for Manassas May 26th. At this time, or just prior to it, it was enlarged by twenty-eight others joining it—

Of these there were discharged or transferred,	4
Died in service,	5
Killed in battle,	8
Wounded,	10
	27

The one who suffered no casualty was a member of the band. The first battle it was in was the First Manassas, July 21st, and afterwards it was in all the battles of Pickett's Brigade and Division to Sailor's creek, where its organization was broken up, nearly every man having been killed or taken prisoner. At the reorganization of the company at Yorktown in April, 1862, there were added by recruits twenty-six—

Of these there were killed in battle,	6
Died in service,	6
Wounded,	7
	19

A recapitulation of the roll shows: Captains, four—one resigned the first year on account of disease; one resigned at the end of the first year on account of age; one resigned June, 1863, on account of wounds; one was killed at Sailor's Creek.

Lieutenants, seven—two resigned early in the war on account of physical disability; four were wounded, and one killed.

Non-commissioned officers, 19—wounded, 11; killed 7.

Privates, 116—detailed or transferred, - - -	6
Discharged for age or disability, - - - -	9
	15
Died in service, - - - - - - -	20
Wounded, - - - - - - - -	31
Killed, - - - - - - - -	20
Total rank and file, - - - - - -	145
Killed in battle, - - - - - -	28
Wounded (sometimes twice and more), - - -	47
Died in service, - - - - - -	20
	95

Of the enlisted men of 1861–'62, who went through the war, only five escaped unhurt, and two of these were detailed men.

At the battle of Gaines' Mill and Frazier's Farm the company had thirty-nine out of forty-five killed and wounded.

At the battle of Gettysburg, out of thirty-six, rank and file, eleven were killed and nineteen wounded.

At Sailor's Creek Captain Archer Campbell—the fourth and last commander of the company—was killed in the act of surrendering.

At Appomattox one lieutenant and several of the men who escaped at Sailor's Creek were included in the surrender.

Colonel R. E. Withers, the first commander of the 18th Regiment, said of this company: "A company which never failed in the hour of trial, and was always 'to be depended on.'"

Colonel H. A. Carrington, successor to Colonel Withers, said of it: "One of truest and most gallant companies which fought through the late war."

Lieutenant-Colonel G. C. Cabell said: "A noble band of Virginia braves, whose gallant deeds reflected undimmed honor on their county, their State, their country, and her cause."

Adjutant Ferguson said: "At the battle of Gettysburg, Company G was deployed as skirmishers, and at the proper time 'assembled' and took its place in the line, I remember well, it was manœuvred handsomely.

"As adjutant, I was in a situation to know, and can testify to the admirable conduct of the entire regiment; how they closed up when large gaps were made in the rank; how orderly they moved forward, driving the enemy, and how the few scattered ones that remained

unhurt held their ground, hoping, but in vain, for support, until they were killed or captured by the fresh troops of the Federals that were pushed forward to restore the broken lines. No charge could have been more gallant. Looking at it now, after a lapse of years, with calm reflection, I think I may say, no commendation given by writers concerning this celebrated charge of Pickett's Division has ever exceeded the truth."

Thirty years after the surrender, as far as could be ascertained, there were surviving of the 145 men of Company G, scattered from Virginia to Texas, thirty-six. Of these, Captain Richard Irby and Lieutenant Richard Ferguson, are the only surviving commissioned officers.

The above items were gathered from a "Historical Sketch" of the company, published in 1878 by the surviving captain, with the aid of Lieutenant Ferguson.

[From the Richmond *Times*, July 12, 1896.]

PETITION FOR MR. DAVIS' RELEASE.

To the Editor of the Times:

SIR,—Every incident connected with President Davis is of great interest. I accidentally found this item a few days ago:

"The ladies of Petersburg petition for the pardon of Jefferson Davis.

"The following petition, signed by over six hundred ladies of Petersburg, has been forwarded to his Excellency, President Johnson, praying for the pardon of Jefferson Davis. This method of reaching the President, has been adopted in other States and cities, and the appeal for clemency in behalf of the great state prisoner, bids fair to become universal throughout the land over which he lately ruled. Will the President disregard the earnest prayers of so large a portion of the nation?"

"PETERSBURG, *October, 1865.*

"PRESIDENT JOHNSON:

"*Honored Sir*,—We, the ladies of the Cockade City of Virginia, approach your Excellency requesting executive clemency for our beloved captive head, late President Jefferson Davis, who is

bound to each one of our section of the land by the indissoluble ties of friendship, love, and veneration. Called by the unanimous voice of the people of the South to lead them (as Joshua of old), he accepted the honor of being enshrined in the history of the nation as its chief, forced there by the free suffrage of a united people. From the moment of his coercion up to the hour of his capture, he commanded the respect, not only of the people of the late Confederate States, but of the world at large, and especially of the United States Government. His opinions were received everywhere as the will of the people, whose mouthpiece he was. He has our love for every virtue which adorned the Christian, the gentleman, and the patriot, shown forth in every act with the brilliancy of the morning sun, reflecting honor upon his country, dignity upon his government, and purity upon the social circle. Our veneration—for called by eight millions of freemen to rule, every creed and political party gave in immediate and unrestrained obedience, followed where he pointed the way, obeyed without a murmur the law promulgated by his council, and cheerfully gave up every comfort for the public good at his suggestion. Now we lie powerless at the feet of a victorious government. Our brave brothers sleep in their honored graves, or walk beside bearing on their persons marks of the fierce conflict which has tried their courage and manliness, with every comfort buried in the general wreck of war. With naught but their energies and honor remaining, having given in their adhesion to the laws of the land, and taken the oaths of fidelity to the government, they have become quiet citizens of the same, only asking to be permitted to remove the numerous vestiges of the conflict, which you, sir, seem, not only willing, but determined to accord to us. With your hand upon the helm (Constitutional Right), you are giving a sublime picture to the world of heroic fortitude. The tempest, though subsiding, still causes the ship of state to plunge and reel; yet, upheld by justice and patriots of the land, she may be anchored in the safe haven of the "Constitutional Rights" as laid down by our noble sires.

"The ark was borne upon the waters of wrath, yet lifted to the summit of a mountain, it there remained a monument of God's mercy, and from it a dove was sent, which returned with an olive branch. Will you not send out the dove (hope), to him whose only fault was, "He did not reject the dangerous honor with more stability?" Will you not permit the Government to the ark, now borne above the waters of strife, and its chief banner the olive

branch? Grant this, sir, so that the prayers of wives, mothers, and children may ascend to the Throne of Grace from the deepest recesses of their hearts, not only for the welfare of the country, but also for your long life and prosperity.

"You would feel that you had not only committed an act of justice, but mercy, to release one whose days are numbered, whose feet are already chilled by the breeze from that unseen, undiscovered country, and to hear in your dreams (as in your waking moments), borne upon the wings of the howling winter tempests, the whispered zephyrs of spring, the hum of the summer's life and the soft, dewy airs of autumn, the prayers from millions of hearts—'God bless him in time and eternity, for his mercy endureth forever.'

"YOUR PETITIONERS."

V. E. Davidson, Petersburg, Va., July 4, 1896.

[From the New Orleans *Picayune*, July 19, 1896.]

WINCHESTER KIND TO LIVING AND DEAD.

Deserves a Place Close to Louisiana's Heart.

A LIST OF THE STATE'S HEROES WHO SLEEP THERE.

Valuable Relics Added to the Confederate Memorial Here. Interesting Reminiscences of the Unveiling of the Monument After the Richmond Reunion.

Unparalleled in the history of great wars, Winchester was the scene of three battles during the rebellion. It has been declared the most patriotic city of the South. Nearly all the troops it furnished the Confederacy belonged to the unflinching, unyielding "Stonewall" Brigade. But its women have a record for bravery and devotion that history loves to linger over. When all the men were absent on the field of war the women nursed the sick and buried the dead. Many a brave boy from Georgia, Mississippi and Louisiana owes his life to the women of Winchester. After each of the great battles, and the numberless skirmishes which crowded upon each other in the valley around the beautiful little city, the women of

Winchester set forth in their carriages, their wagons and even in ox carts and picked up the wounded and the dead. That is the reason why Stonewall Jackson Cemetery, the sacred spot placed right next to the heart of the city, contains to-day such a large number of marked graves.

In the hurried days of battle the women could only mark the resting place of each hero with a plain, wooden slab, bearing the name and command of the soldier. Unsatisfied with their grand work in war time, the women of Winchester have been unceasing in these times of peace in their efforts to have these graves properly marked. The Southern States were appealed to, and most of them, Louisiana among the number, nobly responded, and have marked each grave with a lasting marble headstone, bearing inscriptions telling as fully as is known the story of the dead who lie on the rolling hills of Winchester cemetery, overlooking the battlefields where they fell.

In the section devoted to Louisiana are the graves of the following:

Lieutenant P. Charpio, Company B, 8th Louisiana.
A. A. Arceneaux, Company C, 8th Louisiana.
J. J. Anderson, Company H, 9th Louisiana.
M. Kirwin, Company K, 6th Louisiana.
G. M. Barrais, Company I, 6th Louisiana.
J. Crookshanks, Company B, 9th Louisiana.
S. J. Snyder, Company F, 9th Louisiana.
J. Muntinger, Washington Artillery.
Armand Freret, Washington Artillery.
G. H. Chaplain, Washington Artillery.
J. W. Crawford, Company D, 9th Louisiana.
W. McElgren, Company B, 14th Louisiana.
Captain H. Z. Guice, Company E, 8th Louisiana.
J. B. Galatti, Jackson parish, Louisiana.
L. G. Picon, Company E, 2nd Louisiana.
A. Comb, Company A, 6th Louisiana.
B. C. Scarborough, Company A, 6th Louisiana.
N. Schmitt, Company H, 2nd Louisiana.
—. Smith, Company C, 16th Louisiana.
C. Scarborough, Company A, 6th Louisiana.
R. Cahill, Company F, 6th Louisiana.
R. H. Senders, Company G, 7th Louisiana.
F. Rose, Company H, 6th Louisiana.
H. Hann, Company K, 8th Louisiana.

Captain D. S. Griffin, ——, 2nd Louisiana.
—. Holly, 2nd Louisiana Battalion.
J. J. Holland, Company G, 6th Louisiana.
—. Bantly, ——, —— Louisiana.
G. Grapen, Company K, 6th Louisiana.
L. W. Summons, Company A, 7th Louisiana.
D. Cons, Company F, 6th Louisiana.
S. W. Cresy, Company C, Washington Artillery.
P. McGrafney, ——, —— Louisiana.
——. Flin, ——, —— Louisiana.
J. C. Griffith, Company B, 7th Louisiana.
Lieutenant E. Somday, ——, 14th Louisiana.
P. Riely, 14th Louisiana.
J. Ganey, —— Louisiana.
T. Murphy, Company C, 6th Louisiana.
J. A. Cannon, Company A, 8th Louisiana.
W. Ringold, Company H, 7th Louisiana.
B. M. Jennings, Company H, 7th Louisiana.
J. Mollen, Company I, 6th Louisiana.
H. C. Burk, Company H, 9th Louisiana.
P. C. Cousin, Company A, 6th Louisiana.
J. C. Doughty, Company D, 5th Louisiana.
P. Everett, 8th Louisiana.
H. Heinglas, Company F, 6th Louisiana.
Captain R. Talbert, Company A, 1st Louisiana.
G. H. Guess, Company H, 9th Louisiana.
T. Quillius, 6th Louisiana.
M. Conskey, Company F, 14th Louisiana.
J. M. Martin, Company B, 8th Louisiana.
J C. Snow, Company I, 14th Louisiana.
A. D. Rowles, Company F, 9th Louisiana.
J. L. Lock, Company B, 1st Louisiana.
W. M. Sunley, Company B, 15th Louisiana.
Sergeant J. Antrey, Company H, 2d Louisiana.
G. B. Walker, Company A, 9th Louisiana.
Lieutenant C. Smith, Company C, —— Louisiana.
Major A. Davis, 7th Louisiana.
Major McArthur, —— Louisiana.
Captain T. S. Crump, Company D, 2d Louisiana.
Captain C. Thompson, Louisiana Guards Battery.
Captain W. F. Thompson, Company A, 7th Louisiana.

Lieutenant V. P. Terry, Company K, 7th Louisiana.
Captain E. W. Butts, Company A, 6th Louisiana.
Captain R. A. Pearson, Company C, 9th Louisiana.
Lieutenant W. D. Hendrick, Company G, 1st Louisiana. * *

When the Louisiana veterans left for Winchester they were prepared for a hearty and hospitable reception. But the sincerity, the completeness and the whole-souled ovation tendered them completely eclipsed their expectations. While Winchester has only 6,000 inhabitants, fully 2,000 awaited the arrival of the Louisianians at the depot on the night of the 3d. The entire town turned out in honor of the occasion. Everybody smiled and spoke a welcome, and even the buildings, decked in splendid decorations of Confederate red and white, expressed the prevailing pleasure at the coming of the men from the far South. When at length the train pulled in it was after midnight, yet the ardor of the people of Winchester had abated not a bit.

The ladies of the party were immediately taken charge of by the wives of the Virginia veterans, while the men of the delegation marched to the camp-room of Turner Ashby Camp. There they were refreshed and taken care of in true comradely spirit. It had been arranged that every member of the Louisiana delegation should be given a home with the Winchester folk, and not one was allowed to go to a hotel, or to spend a cent for his entertainment while in the city. Colonel Williams, commander of the Ashby Camp, and Colonel Laughlin, of the cavalry camp, of New Orleans, divided the veterans among their hosts.

"I will take care of four men," some Winchester householder would declare.

"Will four comrades who would like to be together please rise," Colonel Laughlin would say, and the four visitors and heir host marched off. So it proceeded until all were provided for. When there were none left, the trouble began. Numbers of the Winchester veterans had made preparations to entertain the visitors, who did not receive any. They entered a decided kick, because they were given no chance to entertain the visitors. This was especially the case with Mrs. Love, President of the Ladies' Auxiliary Confederate Association, who, back in 1863 and 1864 had first begun the sacred work of collecting the bodies of the soldiers. She lectured Colonel Laughlin for failing to send her some veterans to take tender care of. The only complaint was that Louisiana had not sent more veterans

that they might receive the loving ministrations of their Virginia brothers.

The very best that the county afforded was placed at the command of the visitors. Every organization in the county participated in the parade and exercises attending the unveiling of the Louisiana monument. Every public building and store was decorated. When the exercises were over on the afternoon of July 4th, and the veterans spoke of returning to Washington or Richmond that night, the hospitable Winchester folk would not hear of it, and insisted that they must remain until Monday at least. On Sunday the visitors were driven around the country, visiting the scenes of the innumerable battles around Winchester, in which nearly all of the visitors and hosts had taken part.

The visitors were taken at once to the hearts of their comrades and made members of their families. They were made by every word and act to feel perfectly at home, and when at length the time to leave came, they parted as old friends, and with the tenderest affection for each other. Possibly never before had Virginia hospitality been so thoroughly lived up to, or been better exemplified.

While attending the reunion in Richmond, Colonel Laughlin, Chairman of the Winchester Monument Committee, received a letter stating that the monument had not yet arrived at Winchester. This was a sore disappointment, and a large portion of the veterans left the Winchester journey off their itinerary, believing the monument would not be unveiled. But the others were determined, and declared they would go anyhow.

Telegrams were sent all over the State inquiring where the car containing the monument was. Just the day before it was discovered that by error the granite sections had been sent to Winchester, W. Va. Orders were at once issued to have it sent in haste to the proper destination. In the meantime, Colonel Laughlin, deciding to have the ceremonies at all events, telegraphed Mrs. Love, President of the Ladies' Association, to prepare a wooden monument, of the height of the granite one, and cover it with evergreens, so that no one could tell the difference.

This was done, but happily was not needed. The monument arrived at Winchester on the night of the 3d. The foundation had long been ready, as well as the appliances for placing the granite in position. Early on the 4th, through the energy of Colonel Williams, of the Ashby Camp, and others, a large force was put to work, and the monument completed and made ready for the exercises. The

day was bright, cheerful and clear, the oratory was stirring, and the huge crowd present were in thorough sympathy with the sentiment of the occasion. * * * *

In ante-bellum days, the Winchester cemetery began about three squares from Main street, and covered a comparatively small area. So many were the engagements in the valley, and so many were the dead for whom Winchester cared, that beginning at the limits of the old graveyard, a new cemetery was begun and aptly called after Stonewall Jackson, under whose command most of the dead had fought. This is possibly the only distinct Confederate national cemetery. The Federal national cemetery adjoins it on the left.

In the precincts of Stonewall Jackson cemetery the people of Winchester gathered and placed all the known Confederate dead, locating the graves by States. The unknown, numbering nearly seven hundred, were placed together, and now a splendid monument marks the resting place of these unknown heroes. Many of the graves of the known, are still surmounted with the wooden headboards placed there when they died, but Maryland, Virginia, Georgia and Louisiana have removed these crumbling memorials and replaced them with marble stones, which will be everlasting.

These four States have likewise erected monuments to their dead.

The Louisiana monument which was unveiled on the 4th of July, is a beautiful granite shaft planted on a slight eminence in one of the prettiest part of the soldiers' cemetery. The specifications called for Georgia granite, with a total height of eighteen feet, the base being four feet three inches square, the second base, the die, the cap and the plinth each being proportionately smaller, until the shaft is one foot three inches square, and eleven feet high. The design was graceful, chaste, and of proper soldierly simplicity. On the first base are the large letters, "C. S. A." The second base bears the word "Louisiana," and the cap above the highly polished die shows the coat of arms of the State.

The inscriptions are as follows:

"To the soldiers of Louisiana who died for the South in the Valley Campaign, this monument has been erected in memory of their noble daring and heroic endurance in their country's cause."

On the right side:

"Sleep in peace with kindred ashes,
Of the noble and the true;
Hands that never failed their country,
Hearts that never baseness knew."

The words on the rear of the base are:

"They died for the principles upon which all true republics are founded."

On the left of the base is:

"Remember their valor,
Keep holy the sod,
For honor to heroes
Is glory to God."

The Monument Committee had the plinth so designed that at some future day four bronze medallions of Louisiana soldiers can be attached to it. These will probably be Colonels Taylor, Hays, Stark, and Stafford, who commanded the Louisiana regiments which were most constantly engaged in the Shenandoah Valley campaigns.

* * * * * * * * *

When Colonel William Laughlin attended the reunion in Houston last year, he met Captain T. J. Bantz, of Winchester. The New Orleans veteran told his Virginia comrade about the superb collection of relics in the Confederate Memorial Hall, and interested him so much that he volunteered to secure a number of relics for the hall from the Winchester battlefields. He kept his promise, and when Colonel Laughlin met him again at Winchester, he had collected a fine lot of battle mementoes. These included minie balls, bayonets, two United States army belts, gunstocks, and pieces of shell and canister from Monacacy, the first and second Winchester fights, the battle of Milroy Fork and other skirmishes about Winchester. These precious relics Colonel Laughlin brought back with him to New Orleans, with infinite pains (as they are bulky and heavy) and will present them in a few days to Memorial Hall. They will shortly be supplemented by a collection of shells and other bulky articles which it was impossible to bring by hand, and which will be received by express and placed among the other relics. * * *

One of the most striking of the many monuments in Stonewall Jackson Cemetery is that which marks the grave of Major Thompson, a gallant Winchester soldier, who received his death wound on almost the last day of the war.

The monument is a massive block of granite surmounted by a wondrously polished granite globe several feet in thickness. It is as smooth as polished crystal, and one seems to see into its depth for several inches. So perfect is the reflection that the globe presents

in compact space a marvelously beautiful view of the cemetery scenery, showing the monuments, the foliage, the soldierly headstones, and the distant historic hills.

Colonel W. R. Lyman, of New Orleans, who fought with the Virginia troops, and knew Major Thompson intimately, started the movement to erect this monument to his heroism. He was in Winchester one day, when he was told that Major Thompson was buried there. "Then his grave should have a monument," he instantly declared, and offered to lead the subscription list for one. It was instantly taken up, and in an hour $600 was subscribed. The result is the memorable stone that now marks the grave.

Major Thompson's death was unusually pathetic—unusually heroic. It was two days before the surrender at Appomattox. Major Thompson's left arm had been rendered useless by a rifle ball. His regiment was ordered to charge, and he rode to its front, his left arm hanging helplessly by his side, the reins in his teeth, his revolver in his right hand.

"Don't go into this fight," a friend entreated. "It is sure death, with your arm crippled."

"I don't care," was his brave response. "The Confederacy is dying. I do not wish to survive the Confederacy." He rode into the battle, charged impetuously, and was the first to fall.

H. W. Robinson.

WHAT THE ALABAMA DID.

In the war between the Northern and Southern States, which raged in America during 1861–'65, we have the only instance in which steam cruisers have been employed on any scale to carry commerce. The South had no commerce to be attacked, but the North had a large and prosperous merchant marine. From first to last the South sent eleven steam cruisers and eight small sailing cruisers to sea. These captured between them, two steamers, and 261 sailing-ships—not a very heavy bill of loss, one would think. Yet this loss practically drove the United States flag from the seas. To prove this, I will quote from the case of the United States, as presented to the Geneva arbitrators, the following facts:

"In 1860, two-thirds of the commerce of New York was carried on in American bottoms: in 1863 three-fourths was carred on in foreign bottoms." And the transfers from the United States to the British flag were enormously large. They were:

	Ships.	Tons.
1861, - - - - -	126	71,673
1862, - - - - -	135	74,578
1863, - - - - -	348	252,579
1864, - - - - -	106	92,052

War ended in April, 1865.

The mediocre *Alabama*, a single small and ill-armed ship, was the cause of most of this loss. There were, no doubt, other contributing factors, but the effect of her career is plainly marked in the sudden increase of transfers during 1863, when she was at sea. After she had been sent to the bottom, Yankee skippers recovered their breath. The trade, however, had departed, and the United States has never regained the position which it held in 1860 as a shipping nation. Here again, the destruction of helpless northern ships in nowise benefitted the South. It wrought individual ruin, and it embittered the relations between England and the United States; it had no strategic result, as the North was self-dependent.—*Nineteenth Century.*

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, April 12, 1896.]

BATTLE OF SAILOR'S CREEK.*

PART TAKEN IN IT BY THE SAVANNAH GUARD.

But Few Survivors Now of the Guard.

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

The Savannah Volunteer Guards Battalion fought its last battle at Sailor's Creek, in which engagement many Savannahians were killed and wounded.

* For further account of this battle, see *ante* page 83:—Recollections of a participant as to the part taken therein by Hunton's Brigade.

The Guards were known in the Confederate army as the 18th Battalion of Georgia Volunteers, which was commanded by the gallant Major (afterward Colonel) W. S. Basinger, a distingushed lawyer and citizen of this city, but now residing at Athens.

The battle of Sailor's Creek was one of the several battles which took place after General Lee evacuated Petersburg, and just before the surrender of the army at Appomattox. The Confederate army, says the Savannah *News*, of the 5th, decimated and starving, was bravely trying to make its way through the cordon which General Grant's hosts were forming around it. The 18th Battalion was hemmed in, and attempted to break the enemy's lines, but was annihilated in the attempt, every officer and man being either killed, wounded, or captured.

The Guards went to Virginia when every available armed man that could be spared was needed to reinforce Lee's army. Although in service from the beginning of the war, the operations of the battalion had been confined to the coast, in the neighborhood of Savannah and Charleston, where there was much unpleasant duty, but very little fighting. The battalion had done some good service in Charleston harbor, however, where it distinguished itself in the repulse of the attack on Battery Wagner, on Morris Island, after which it did service for several months on Morris and James Islands, in the defence of Charleston.

In May, 1864, the order came for the battalion to go to Virginia, and was received with rapturous cheers by the men, who were tired of the monotony of garrison life. In the fall the battalion was joined with six other battalions, which were stationed with it at Chaffin's Bluff, on the James river, into a small brigade, commanded by Colonel Crutchfield, which was attached to the division of General G. W. Custis Lee, son of General Robert E. Lee. On this account General Custis Lee has been an honorary member of the corps since its reorganization after the war.

The battalion had the same hard experience with the rest of the Army of Northern Virginia during the winter of 1864–'65. Its only shelter was a few ragged old tents, and these were not sufficient for all. Fuel was scarce, and very difficult to obtain. Their only rations were a pound of corn-meal and a third of a pound of bacon a day. The duty was also very severe. How would the 250 young fellows who looked so brave in the last annual parade of the Guards enjoy soldiering under such circumstances? But it was the same class of men who composed the battalion in 1864, and their successors would do the same thing now if it were necessary to do so.

When Lee evacuated Petersburg on the night of April 2d, the Guards marched out with the rest of the army. It was an all-night march and all the next day, then a few hours' rest, and the march resumed before dawn. This continued until April 6th, when Lee's retreating army was brought to bay at Sailor's creek. General Gordon's Corps was the true rear guard, but in the various operations and movements of the day, General Ewell's Corps, of which Custis Lee's Division was a part, got into the rear, and in its turn became the rear guard. The army was hemmed in, but the men did not know it. The Guards were fording Sailor's creek, with the color-bearer in the middle, carrying the color-staff inclined upon his shoulder, when a spent bullet struck the staff, splitting it exactly in the middle and just burying itself in the crack. The bullet came from ahead, and the men saw that they were surrounded. Custis Lee's Division was the rear of the corps, Crutchfield's Brigade in the rear of the division, and the Guards at the rear of the brigade. The brigade was halted a few hundred yards from the creek, about half way up the slope of a long acclivity, and the line formed, with the Guards on the extreme right of the line.

Major Basinger in his review of the history of the Guards, gives a brief, but interesting, account of the battle:

"When the enemy's infantry began to ascend the slope to attack the Confederate troops holding their fire until they should get quite near, a strong body was discovered making its way through a thicket of pines on the right of the Guards so as to take them on the flank and rear. Fortunately, they were impeded and disordered by the thickness of the grove, Major Basinger happened at the moment to be near the extreme right of the Guards.

"There was no time for deliberation. He immediately marched the battalion by the right flank obliquely to the rear, fixing bayonets as they went, so as to face this unexpected enemy, and, reforming his line, attacked at once with the bayonet, while they were yet entangled in the wood. The Guards were but eighty-five that day, and nothing but the disorder of the enemy in the thicket saved them.

"Their attack was successful; the enemy was driven off, with the loss of two regimental flags and many killed, but with serious loss to the Guards also. The battalion then returned to the original line to take its part in the main battle. But again the enemy came through the thicket of pines, and were met in the same manner as before. But they were too strong, and the corps had suffered too much in

the former attack; the enemy were checked, but all of the Guards who escaped with their lives fell into their hands as prisoners. It was afterwards ascertained that these attacks through the pine thicket had been made by a force of three regiments, half advancing at a time, and that their loss in the encounter was about 275 men. The disorder caused in their advance by the pine thicket was the only thing that rendered such a result possible. But without this combat, the whole division would have been assailed on its flank and rear and inevitably destroyed.

"As it was, the division, thus guarded on its flank, repulsed two attacks, and finally, attacking in its turn, drove the enemy from the field, and killed and wounded, it was said on good authority, about 5,000 of his men, having itself only 2,250 engaged. But in the very moment of their success a courier came from General Ewell announcing that he had surrendered himself and his entire corps. So the division found itself in the same moment victors, yet prisoners of war.

"In this affair the loss of the Guards was very heavy—amounting to thirty killed and twenty-two wounded of the eighty-five engaged, and every officer but one being either killed or wounded."

The killed were buried on the field by the enemy. The wounded were sent to the hospitals, and the unwounded to northern prisons.

General McGlashan, in a lecture delivered at the Guards' Hall, December 5, 1894, gave a graphic description of the battle, in which he participated with his command, closely adjoining the Guards, and in full view of their line. General McGlashan's command fought an equally desperate fight, but with slightly better fortune than the Guards, as the losses were not so severe. In a letter from Major Basinger, read by General McGlashan in the course of his lecture, the former charged that the enemy fired on and slaughtered his wounded men after their surrender. Captain John R. Dillon, who was adjutant of the battalion, and was wounded at the battle, furnishes the following partial list of the killed:

Captain G. C. Rice; Lieutenants G. M. Turner, W. H. King, Fred. Tupper, Eugent Blois, W. D. Grant, G. W. Smith, Sergeants George E. James, Charles Postell, R. Millen, W. C. Bennett; Privates A. O. Bowne, J. W. Myddleton, W. H. Rice, J. McIntosh, B. Abbey, J. Rouse, E. L. Gordon, John Vickers, H. Crook, L. E. Barie, J. Gould.

The year following the bodies of eighteen of the Guards who fell at Sailor's creek were recovered and brought to Savannah. Only

seven of these could be identified. These were buried in the private lots, and the other eleven were interred in the lot of the Guards, in Laurel Grove Cemetery. The interment was attended by a large gathering of the citizens, and the ceremonies were conducted by Bishop Elliott and other leading divines of the city.

With one exception (Lieutenant Gue) every officer present at the battle of Sailor's creek was either killed or wounded. Major Basinger and Lieutenants Dillon and Starr were wounded, and Captain Rice and the lieutenants named above were killed; Captain George Stiles was in the camp hospital; Captain Thomas F. Screven was at home on furlough, and Lieutenant P. H. Raynal was on detached duty with a detachment sent out in search of cattle for the army. This accounts for every officer of the command.

There are only a few survivors of that desperate battle. Major Basinger commanded the battalion with the rank of lieutenant-colonel for several years after its reorganization after the war, and is now living at Athens. Among those residing here are Captain Thomas F. Screven, Captains John R. Dillon and John Reilly, both of whom have commanded Co. C, of the battalions, successively since the war; Sergeants Malcolm McLean, and J. G. Cornell, and Private John A. Pacetti. Captain P. N. Raynal, who commanded Co. A for a year after the war, now resides at Thomasville, and Sergeant Bayard McIntosh in Atlanta, being connected with the Agricultural Department. There are probably others, but their names could not be recalled by the veterans who were seen yesterday.

[From the Wilmington, N. C., *Messenger*, Feb. 19, 1895.]

NORTH CAROLINA SOLDIERS.

Paroled at Appomattox.

"North Carolina had paroled at Appomattox Courthouse, one major-general, Bryan Grimes, and six brigadiers, *i. e.*, W. R. Cox, Matthew W. Ransom, John R. Cooke, William McRae, W. P. Roberts and J. H. Lane.

Brigade	Commanded by	Total rank and file surrendered.
1. Cox's,	Brigadier-General Cox,	572
2. Grimes',	Colonel Coward,	530
3. Johnston's,	Colonel Lea,	463
4. Lewis',	Captain Beard,	447
5. Cooke's,	Brigadier-General Cooke,	560
6. MacRae's,	Brigadier-General MacRae,	442
7. Lane's,	Brigadier-General Lane,	570
8. Scales',	Colonel Hyman,	719
9. Ransom's,	Brigadier-General Ransom,	435
10. Barringer's,*	—— —— ——	23
11. Robert's,*	Brigadier-General Roberts,	93
Major-General Grimes and staff,		18
Cummings', Miller's, William's, Flanners' and Ramsey's batteries,		150
Total North Carolinians paroled		5,022

The following North Carolina regiments were in the above brigades at the surrender: 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 9th (1st cavalry); 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 18th, 19th (2d cavalry); 20th, 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 30th, 32d, 33d, 34th, 35th, 37th, 38th, 41st (3d cavalry); 43d, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 52d, 53d, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 59th (4th cavalry); 63d (5th cavalry); 1st North Carolina battalion sharp-shooters, 2d North Carolina battalion, 16th North Carolina battalion (cavalry), and the five battalions of artillery above named. Total, forty-two regiments and one battalion infantry; five regiments and one battalion cavalry; and five batteries artillery. That all these should have numbered only 5,000, rank and file, at the surrender, shows the wear and tear North Carolina troops had sustained. First and last, by the muster rolls, these commands had contained over 100,000 men."

* Cavalry.

[From the Charlotte, N. C , *Observer*, April 21, 1895.]

TWENTY-SECOND NORTH CAROLINA INFANTRY.

Its History by Major Graham Daves.

ITS ORGANIZATION, WITH ACCURATE ROSTERS.

Field and Line Officers—J. Johnston Pettigrew Its First Colonel—The Regiment Rendered Splendid Service to the State from the Beginning to the Bitter End.

The 22d Regiment of North Carolina Troops was organized in camp near Raleigh in July, 1861, by the election of the following field officers: Colonel, J. Johnston Pettigrew, of Tyrrell county, then a resident of Charleston, S. C. Colonel Pettigrew had seen service with the forces in South Carolina, and commanded a regiment at the siege and capture of Fort Sumter by the Confederates in April, 1861. Lieutenant-Colonel, John O. Long, of Randolph county, a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point; Major, Thomas S. Gallaway, Jr., of Rockingham county, a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, Va. The commissions of the field officers all bore date of July 11th, 1861.

The regiment was composed originally of twelve companies, but two of them, "C" and "D," were very soon transferred to other commands, and the lettering, A, B, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, and M, for the ten companies was retained. This fact is mentioned because the lettering of the companies of this regiment, as reported in the register published by the Adjutant-General of the State in November, 1861, and in the roster of the troops published by the State in 1882, is incorrectly given. Company A was from Caldwell county; Company B, from McDowell county; Company E, from Guilford county; Company F, from Alleghany county; Company G, from Caswell county; Company H, from Stokes county; Company I, from Randolph county; Company K, from McDowell county; Company L, from Randolph county, and Company M, from Randolph county.

The organization of the regiment was completed by the appointment of Lieutenant Graham Daves, of Craven county, as adjutant, July 24, 1861; Dr. James K. Hall, of Guilford county, surgeon, July 24, 1861; Dr. Benjamin A. Cheek, of Warren county, assistant-surgeon, July 24, 1861; James J. Litchford, of Wake county, assistant-

quartermaster, July 19, 1861; Rev. A. B. Cox, of Alleghany county, July 16, 1861, chaplain, and Hamilton C. Graham (Company I), of Craven county, as sergeant-major.

First called the 12th Volunteers, the regiment was shortly after numbered and designated the 22d Troops. The change was made in the Adjutant-General's office at Raleigh to avoid confusion. With the exception of the "Bethel Regiment," or 1st Volunteers, and perhaps the 2d, which served first for six months only, the troops first enlisted were mustered into service for one year and were called volunteers. The Legislature, however, also authorized the enlistment of ten regiments "for the term of the war," eight of infantry, one of cavalry, 9th, and one of artillery, 10th, to be called "State Troops," and numbered one to ten. This would have caused the numbering of ten regiments each of "State Troops" and of "Volunteers" respectively to have been the same, and the numbers of the volunteer regiments were therefore moved forward ten. This will explain a change in the numbering of the regiments to include the 14th Volunteers, afterwards the 24th Troops, which seems not to be understood. A duplication of this sort in the numbering of certain regiments of Georgia and South Carolina troops did actually exist, and caused much confusion.

The regiment was first armed as follows: to the two flank companies were issued rifled muskets of a then comparatively recent Springfield pattern. The other eight companies had old-style flintlock muskets, with bright barrels, altered to percussions. All were muzzle loading, and the latter were not effective at more than 200 yards, if that. The cartridges were of paper, to be torn with the teeth, and the cap pouches, bayonet scabbards, cartridge boxes, canteens and haversacks were of the rudest description. Of knapsacks there were few or none, except what the men or their officers furnished.

The first captain of A Company was W. F. Jones, of Caldwell county, who was succeeded by Thos. D. Jones, of the same. The entire number of rank and file in this company serving at one time or another during its whole term of service was 187 men. Company B had for its first captain James M. Neal, of McDowell county, and numbered of rank and file from first to last 171 men. Captain Columbus C. Cole, of Greensboro, commanded E Company, which numbered 184 rank and file while in service. Jesse F. Reeves, of Alleghany county, was first captain of F Company, which numbered 160 men during its term. J. A. Burns was captain of G Company

at the organization of the regiment, but was shortly after succeeded by John W. Graves. The company numbered in all 145 men. Hamilton Scales, of Stokes county, was captain of H Company, which numbered in all 200 men. I Company's first captain was Shubal G. Worth, of Randolph county. The company numbered 188 men. Alney Burgin, of McDowell county, was first captain of K Company. Robert H. Gray, of L Company, and John M. Odell, of M Company, which numbered, respectively, during their several terms of service, 151, 178, and 146 men. These figures are mentioned here for convenience, and represent, of course, enlistments and assignments for the whole period of the war. At the completion of its organization the regiment numbered nearly 1,000 enlisted men. Shortly after its organization it was ordered to Virginia, and made its first halt in Richmond. Remaining in camp there for a short time, it was next ordered to the Potomac to form part of the command of General Theophilus H. Holmes, and was first stationed at Brooks' station near Acquia creek. Soon, however, it marched to Evansport, a point on the Potomac river, the present Quantico station, between the Chappawansic and Quantico creeks, where batteries of heavy guns were to be established to blockade the Potomac below Washington. Going into camp at this place late in September, the regiment was stationed there during the autumn and winter of 1861–'62, on duty in the erection and support of the batteries which were in great part constructed by details of its men. There were three of these batteries at first, mounted with 9-inch Dalghren guns, smooth bore 32 and 42 pounders, and one heavy rifled Blakely gun, and they were thought to be formidable in those days. No. 2 Battery was in part manned by Company I, of the regiment, detailed for that purpose, where it continued to serve as long as the post was occupied. After the batteries opened, traffic by water to Washington ceased almost entirely, but the river there being about two miles wide, some craft succeeded in running the gauntlet from time to time, among others the steam sloop of war Pensacola, which passed at night.

While on duty at Evansport, about the middle of October, 1861, the following roster of the line officers of the regiment, with the dates of their commissions, was returned:

Company A: Thomas D. Jones, captain, August 8, 1861; J. B. Clark, first lieutenant, August 8, 1861; Felix G. Dula, second lieutenant, August 8, 1861; William W. Dickson, second lieutenant, August 8, 1861.

Company B: James H. Neale, captain, May 8, 1861; A. G. Halyburton, first lieutenant, May 8, 1861; J. M. Higgins, second lieutenant, May 8, 1861; Samuel H. Adams, second lieutenant, May 8, 1861.

Company E: Columbus C. Cole, captain, May 23, 1861; H. E. Charles, first lieutenant, May 23, 1861; W. H. Faucett, second lieutenant, May 23, 1861; John N. Nelson, second lieutenant, July 27, 1861.

Company F: Preston B. B. Reeves, captain, September 10, 1861; John Gambol, first lieutenant, September 11, 1861; Horton L. Reeves, second lieutenant, May 27, 1861; George McReeves, second lieutenant, August 27, 1861.

Company G: John W. Graves, captain, October 11, 1861; J. J. Stokes, first lieutenant, May 28, 1861; P. Smith, second lieutenant, May 28, 1861; John N. Blackwell, second lieutenant, August 24, 1861.

Company H: Hamilton Scales, captain, June 1, 1861; Ephraim Bouldin, first lieutenant, June 1, 1861; S. Martin, second lieutenant, June 1, 1861.

Company I: Shubal G. Worth, captain, June 5, 1861; E. H. Winningham, first lieutenant, August 12, 1861: Alexander C. McAllister, second lieutenant, August 15, 1861; Hamilton C. Graham, second lieutenant, August 15, 1861.

Company K: Alney Burgin, captain, June, 1861; Charles H. Burgin, first lieutenant, June 5, 1861; A. W. Crawford, second lieutenant, June 5, 1861; I. E. Morris, second lieutenant, June 5, 1861.

Company L: Robert H. Gray, captain, June 18, 1861; Claiborne Gray, first lieutenant, June 18, 1861; J. A. C. Brown, second lieutenant, June 18, 1861; W. G. Spencer, second lieutenant, June 18, 1861.

Company M: John M. Odell, captain, June 10, 1861; Laban Odell, first lieutenant, June 10, 1861; J. M. Pounds, second lieutenant, June 10, 1861; Henry C. Alfred, second lieutenant, June, 10, 1861.

At different times during its entire term of service, the following were line officers of the Twenty-Second Regiment; the list is not quite complete:

Company A—captains: W. F. Jones, Thomas D. Jones, James M. Isbell, William B. Clark. Lieutenants: Joseph B. Clark, James W. Sudderth, Felix G. Dula, William W. Dickson, Marcus Deal, J. W. Justice.

Company B—captains: James M. Neal, J. T. Conley, George H.

Gardin. Lieutenants: Samuel H. Adams, James M. Higgins, Robert A. Tate, S. P. Tate.

Company E—captains: Columbus C. Cole, Charles E. Harper, Joseph A. Hooper, Martin M. Wolfe, Robert W. Cole. Lieutenants: Andrew J. Busick, W. H. Faucett, James H. Hanner, John N. Nelson, O. C. Wheeler.

Company F—captains: Jesse F. Reeves, Preston B. Reeves, W. L. Mitchell, S. G. Caudle. Lieutenants: John Gambole, N. A. Reynolds, David Edwards, Horton S. Reeves, Calvin Reeves, George G. Reeves, Calvin C. Carrier.

Company G—captains: Edward M. Scott, J. A. Burns, John W. Graves, Stanlin Brinchfield. Lieutenants: O. W. Fitzgerald, James T. Stokes, Peter Smith, J. N. Blackwell, B. S. Mitchell, Martin H. Cobb.

Company H—captains: Hamilton Scales, Ephraim Bouldin, William H. Lovins. Lieutenants: S. Martin, C. C. Smith, John K. Martin, Sam B. Ziglar, Shadrack Martin, Joshua D. Ziglar.

Company I—captains: Shubal G. Worth, George V. Lamb. Lieutenants: Robert Hanner, Eli H. Winningham, John H. Palmer, B. W. Burkhead, William McAuley, Hamilton C. Graham, Alex. A. McAllister, J. S. Robbins, R. A. Glenn, R. W. Winbourne.

Company K—captains: Alney Burgin, Charles H. Burgin, William B. Gooding, E. J. Dobson. Lieutenants: Isaac E. Morris, A. W. Crawford, J. L. Greenlee, J. B. Burgin, John M. Burgin, J. E. Bailey.

Company L—captains: Robert H. Gray, J. A. C. Brown, Lee Russell, Yancey M. C. Johnson. Lieutenants: Claiborn Gray, William G. Spencer, E. C. Harney, Oliver M. Pike, Calvin H. Welborn.

Company M—captains: John M. Odell, Laban Odell, Warren B. Kivett, Columbus F. Siler. Lieutenants: J. M. Robbins, James M. Pounds, Henry C. Alfred, Lewis F. McMasters, John M. Lawrence, A. W. Lawrence.

Besides the lieutenants named above, the captains of the several companies had in nearly every instance served as lieutenants previous to their promotion. Hon. Walter Clark, now Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, who will compile and edit the histories of our North Carolina regiments, was, at its organization, a drill-master in the 22d. He was then little more than a boy.

Until March 2, 1862, the regiment remained in support of the batteries at Evansport, in brigade at different times with the 1st Arkansas, the 2d Tennessee, a Virginia regiment, and perhaps other regiments,

under command, in the order named, of Generals John G. Walker, Isaac R. Trimble, and Samuel G. French. While there the health of the men was good, except for measles, which seemed to be epidemic in all the regiments. The batteries were frequently engaged with the enemy's gunboats, and with batteries on the Maryland side of the Potomac, but the casualties were very few. Company I had several men wounded by the bursting of a forty-two-pounder gun in Battery No. 2. While on duty at Evansport, Colonel Pettigrew was promoted brigadier-general, but feeling that his services were of more value in furthering the re-enlistment and re-organization of the regiment, then near at hand, he declined the appointment—a rare instance of patriotism and devotion to the public good. When the army fell back from Manassas and the Potomac in March, 1862, to the line of the Rappahannock, General French commanded the brigade which took post at Fredericksburg. Soon after General French was transferred to a command in North Carolina, and the regiment was marched to the peninsula below Richmond and shared in the Williamsburg and Yorktown campaign. Returning to the vicinity of Richmond, and Colonel Pettigrew having been again appointed brigadier, in command of the brigade, which appointment he this time accepted, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles E. Lightfoot, previously of the 6th Regiment, was promoted colonel. Under his command the regiment went into the fight at Seven Pines in May-June, 1862, in which it was heavily engaged and its losses were severe. General Pettigrew was here wounded and made prisoner. Colonel Lightfoot was also captured. Captain Thomas D. Jones and Lieutenant S. H. Adams were killed, besides many others, and the aggregate loss of the regiment was 147 in all.

Soon after Seven Pines the regiment was re-organized, when the following were elected field officers: James Connor, of South Carolina, colonel; Captain Robert H. Gray, of Company L, lieutenant-colonel, and Captain Columbus C. Cole, of Company E, major. They took rank from June 14th, 1862. There were many changes also in the line officers. Previously Adjutant Graham Daves had been promoted captain and assigned to duty as assistant adjutant-general on the general staff, and Lieutenant P. E. Charles became adjutant. A new brigade, too, was formed, consisting of the 16th, 22d, 34th, and 38th North Carolina Regiments, and placed under the command of Brigadier-General Wm. D. Pender, in the division of General A. P. Hill.

An officer in describing the bearing of the 22d at Seven Pines,

says: "In all my readings of veterans, and of coolness under fire, I have never conceived of anything surpassing the coolness of our men in this fight."

In the "Seven Days' Fight" around Richmond the regiment was next engaged: First, at Mechanicsville, June 26th, in which Colonel Connor was badly wounded; at Ellison's Mill; at Gaines' Mill, June 27th, where it won the highest encomiums. General A. P. Hill says of it in his report of the battle: "The 16th North Carolina, Colonel McElroy, and the 22d, Lieutenant-Colonel Gray, at one time carried the crest of the hill, and were in the enemy's camp, but were driven back by overwhelming numbers." And General Pender: "My men fought nobly and maintained their ground with great stubbornness." Next at Frazier's Farm, June 30th. In this fight the regiment was very conspicuous and suffered severely. Among the killed were Captain Harper and Lieutenant P. E. Charles, of Company E. The latter was bearing the regimental colors at the time, and near him, in a space little more than ten feet square, nine men of the color guard lay dead. Captain Ephraim Bouldin, of Company H, was also killed.

On August 9th the battle of Cedar Mountain was fought. In this engagement the 22d Regiment was charged by a regiment of cavalry which it easily repulsed and punished sharply. Lieutenant Robert W. Cole, of Company E, succeeded Lieutenant Charles as adjutant. The regiment was with Jackson in his battles with Pope of August 28th and 29th, and bore an active part at Second Manassas on August 30th. In these actions it was efficiently commanded by Major C. C. Cole, owing to the extreme sickness of Lieutenant-Colonel Gray. Two days later it was again engaged with the enemy at Chantilly, or Ox Hill, fought in a terrible thunder storm, in which the artillery of heaven and of earth seemed to strive in rivalry. The hard service and heavy losses of this campaign may be understood by the fact that at this time there were, out of the twelve field officers of the four regiments of the brigade, but three left on duty with their commands, and some of the companies were commanded by corporals.

Pope, the braggart, had made good use of his "Headquarters in the Saddle" to get out of Virginia, and had learned all about "Lines of Retreat."

The 22d Regiment took part in the reduction and capture of Harper's Ferry on August 15th, where it remained until the 17th, the day the battle of Sharpsburg was fought. On that day the regiment,

with the rest of A. P. Hill's Division, arrived on the battle-field after a forced march of seventeen miles, in time to aid in the afternoon in the decided repulse of Burnside's attack at the "Stone Bridge," thereby preventing the turning of General Lee's right and saving the day to the Confederates. On the night of the 18th the army recrossed the Potomac, and on the 19th was followed by a division of Federals, which was promptly attacked by a part of A. P. Hill's command, routed and driven back across the Potomac at Shepherdstown with great slaughter. The 22d took an active part in this successful fight. After the enemy had been driven into the river, a heavy fire was opened on the Confederates by the Federal batteries and sharpshooters from its northern bank. Under this fire a detachment of the 22d, under Major Cole, lay, with very slight protection, for nearly twelve hours, and could be withdrawn only after nightfall.

Shortly after Shepherdstown, Lieutenant-Colonel Gray rejoined the regiment, and Lieutenant J. R. Cole, previously of the 54th Regiment, was assigned to the 22d as adjutant. On November 22, A. P. Hill's Division, which had been on duty near Martinsburg and at Snicker's Gap in the Blue Ridge (where there was constant skirmishing), marched for Fredericksburg, where it arrived on the 2d of December, a distance of 180 miles. In this winter march many of the men were barefooted, but made merry over it. At the Battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, Jackson's Corps formed the right of Lee's army, and Pender's Brigade was on the left of A. P. Hill's Division in the first line. The regiment acquitted itself in this famous action in a way well worthy its old reputation. The night of the 12th a detail from the regiment by a bold dash succeeded in burning a number of haystacks and houses very near to, and affording cover to, the Federal lines. Major C. C. Cole was in charge of the detail, and next day commanded the skirmish line in front of Pender's Brigade. He was ably seconded by Captain Laban Odell, of Company M., and Lieutenant Clark, of Company A. The brigade maintained its position throughout the action, repulsing every attack upon it, but not without heavy loss. Major Cole was much complimented for his handsome action in dispersing the strong force of the enemy's skirmishers on the brigade front. General Pender was wounded, and his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Sheppard, was killed in the engagement. Some time before Fredericksburg the 13th North Carolina Regiment, Colonel Alfred M. Scales, had been added to Pender's Brigade.

The winter of 1862–'3 was passed in picket and other duty on the

Rappahannock below Fredericksburg. Colonel James Conner rejoined the regiment while it was stationed there, but was still unfitted by his severe wound for active duty. The services of Lieutenant-Colonel Gray were lost to the regiment at this time. Always a man of delicate health, he died 16th of March, 1863. Major C. C. Cole was promoted to lieutenant-colonel and Captain Odell became major, their commissions dating March 16, 1862—positions that these excellent officers were to hold but a short time.

At Chancellorsville in May, 1863, the regiment was in Jackson's flank attack on Hooker, and throughout the whole of the action was heavily engaged. Its losses were very severe. Colonel Cole and Major Odell were both killed, 219 men and twenty-six out of thirty-three officers were killed or wounded, and though the regiment was distinguished by its accustomed efficiency and gallantry, nothing could compensate for the terrible destruction. Chancellorsville was the eighteenth battle of the 22d Regiment, and the most fatal. It went through the Maryland campaign of 1863 and Gettysburg with credit. General Wm. D. Pender had been made a major-general and was now in command of the division, and Colonel Alfred M. Scales, of the 13th Regiment, was promoted brigadier in command of the brigade. It participated in the first day's brilliant success at Gettysburg, was engaged also on the second day, and on the third the brigade was part of General I. R. Trimble's Division, General Pender having been mortally wounded in support of Heth's Division, then under Pettigrew, in the famous charge on Cemetery Heights. In this charge, Archer's and Scales' Brigades occupied and held for a time the Federal works, and when they retreated to the Confederate lines, Scales' Brigade had not one field officer left for duty, and but very few line officers. Its total loss was 102 killed and 322 wounded.

After the return of the regiment to Virginia it was reorganized, when Thomas S. Gallaway, Jr., at one time its major, was elected colonel, to date from September 21st, 1863; Wm. L. Mitchell was lieutenant-colonel; J. H. Welborn, adjutant; J. D. Wilder, quartermaster; P. G. Robinson, surgeon. Benj. A. Cheek was still assistant-surgeon. The line officers, with dates of commission, were as follows:

Company A—Captain: Wm. B. Clarke, October 28, 1862; First Lieutenant: Joseph B. Clarke, October 28, 1862; Second Lieutenant: Wm. A. Tuttle, April 25, 1863.

Company B—Captain ———; First Lieutenant: Robert A. Tate,

August 1, 1863; Second Lieutenant: George H. Gardin, May 11, 1863; Second Lieutenant: Samuel P. Tate, August 1, 1863.

Company E—Captain: Robert W. Cole, September 15, 1863; First Lieutenant: Andrew J. Busick, September 15, 1863; Second Lieutenant: Oliver C. Wheeler, April 25, 1863.

Company F—Captain ———; First Lieutenant: David Edwards, October 20, 1862; Second Lieutenant: Shadrach G. Caudle, April 25, 1863.

Company G—Captain: George A. Graves, May 1, 1862; First Lieutenant: Peter Smith, May 10, 1862; Second Lieutenant: Robert L. Mitchell, May 1, 1862; Second Lieutenant: Martin H. Cobb, April 25, 1863.

Company H—Captain: Thomas T. Slade, October 23, 1863; First Lieutenant: John K. Martin, May 25, 1863; Second Lieutenant: Mason T. Mitchell, April 25, 1863; Second Lieutenant: C. L. Graves, May 25, 1863.

Company I—Captain: Gaston V. Lamb, July 18, 1862; First Lieutenant: Burwell W. Burkhead, July 1, 1863; Second Lieutenant: Richard W. Winburne, August 1, 1863; Second Lieutenant: Robert A. Glenn, August 1, 1863.

Company K—Captain: ———, ———; First Lieutenant: ———, ———; Second Lieutenant: E. J. Dobson, November 5, 1862.

Company L—Captain: Lee Russell, ——, ——; First Lieutenant: Yancey M. C. Johnson, August 1, 1863, Second Lieutenant: Oliver M. Pike, July 15, 1863; Second Lieutenant; Calvin H. Wilborne, August 1, 1863.

Company M—Captain: Columbus F. Siler, May 2, 1863; First Lieutenant: James M. Robbins, May 2, 1863; Second Lieutenant: John M. Lawrence, April 25, 1863.

Under this organization, the regiment shared in the events of the "campaign of strategy" in October and November, 1863, on the Rapidan, and endured the cold and other privations in the affair at Mine Run, on the last of the latter month. Going into winter quarters after that, there were no occurrences of much note until the opening of the great campaign in the spring of 1864. Major-General Cadmus M. Wilcox had been assigned to the command of the division, General Pender having died of the wound received at Gettysburg, and this division with that of Heth, at the Wilderness, on May 5th, withstood and repulsed with heavy loss, every attack of Grant's forces on that memorable day. So severe had been the struggle, that at night when requested by Heth to readjust the lines,

much disordered by the persistant fighting, General A. P. Hill simply replied, "Let the tired men sleep," a decision which, with the delay of Longstreet's corps the next morning in getting into position, had nearly caused disaster. The Twenty-second bore well its part here, and so on, always maintaining its high reputation, at Spotsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, and through the weary winter of hardship and want of 1864–'65, borne with fortitude, in the trenches at Petersburg; on the trying retreat to Appomattox in April, 1865, where the sad end came. At the surrender there on the 9th, the brigade was under the command of Colonel Joseph H. Hyman, of the Thirteenth Regiment, of Edgecombe county, and numbered all told, 720 men, of whom ninety-two were officers, of the different grades, and 628 were enlisted men. Of the Twenty-second Regiment there were paroled ninety-seven men, and the following officers: Colonel Thomas S. Gallaway, Jr., Lieutenant-Colonel W. S. Mitchell. Captains George H. Gardin; Company B; Robert W. Cole, Company E; Gaston V. Lamb, Company I; E. J. Dobson, Company K; Yancey M. C. Johnson, Company L; Columbus F. Siler, Company M. Lieutenants: William A. Tuttle, Company A; Samuel P. Tate, Company B; Andrew J. Busick, Company E; W. C. Orvell, Company E; Calvin H. Wilborne, Company L, Thirteenth. In Company F, but eight privates "present for duty," were left, and in Company H, but five. Besides those mentioned, several members of the regiment, who were on detached service, were paroled elsewhere.

And so the regiment was disbanded, and its few surviving members sought their distant homes with heavy hearts indeed at the failure of the cause they had upheld so long and so bravely, undeterred by privation and unappalled by dangers, but still sustained by the parting words of their illustrious chief, and the consciousness of right and of duty well done. No nobler band of men ever offered their all at the behest of the sovereign State to which they owed allegiance, and to the little squad of them, now "in the sere, the yellow leaf," who not have not yet "crossed over the river and rest under the shade of the trees," an old comrade sends warmest greeting and best wishes. Would that his feeble efforts in attempting to preserve some portion, at least, of their record were more worthy of their matchless deeds. Few of them, if any, there were who, when all was over, might not have said, in the words of St. Paul: "I have fought a good fight; * * * I have kept the faith."

And to those of the regiment—that larger regiment by far—who

sleep their last sleep where at duty's call they laid down their lives, on the plains and hillsides of Virginia and Maryland, from the Appomattox to the Antietam, is gladly rendered the fullest meed of grateful praise. Their fidelity and devoted sacrifice shall be celebrated in song and story, and shall be borne in loving memory while time shall last.

* * * * "Lament them not!
No love can make immortal
That span which we call life;
And never heroes passed to life eternal
From fields of grander strife."

GRAHAM DAVES.

Newbern, N. C.

In offering this imperfect history of the 22d Regiment of North Carolina Troops in the late war between the States, the writer will say, in explanation of its many omissions and shortcomings, that during more than the last two years of its service, he had been transferred to other duty, and was not a member of the regiment. He gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Lieutenant J. R. Cole, some time its adjutant, for much valuable information. He hopes the brave story of the part the regiment bore in the momentous campaigns of 1864–'65 will yet be told in full detail.

GRAHAM DAVES,
First Adjutant, 22d N. C. Troops.

Newbern, N. C., March, 1895.

[From the Norfolk *Landmark*]

THE BATTLE OF SHARPSBURG.

To the Editor of the Landmark:

SIR—Having observed with great interest the attack upon the accuracy of the statement of General Fitz Lee concerning the strength of the Confederate army at Sharpsburg, made by certain of his critics, I respectfully ask the privilege of the use of your columns for the following contribution to the discussion of this subject.

Let it be borne in mind that what we seek to ascertain is the num-

ber of troops actually engaged in the Battle of Sharpsburg; and if this can be established by contemporaneous, documentary evidence, it is unnecessary to attempt a conjectural estimate of numbers based upon returns of the army made at some time previous or subsequent to the date of the battle, although, to those cognizant of all of the facts, there is no difficulty in harmonizing the results of the two methods.

For a correct understanding of the matter, it is necessary to consider briefly the interesting events of the week immediately preceding the engagement.

On September the 9th the army of General Lee was well in hand near Frederick City, Md.; his purpose was not yet fully developed to the enemy. The Federal authorities at Washington were fearful lest his advance into Maryland was but a feint to cover his real purpose of attacking the Capital. This uncertainty and the necessity for covering that city and Baltimore caused General McClellan to advance very cautiously and slowly.

Quite a large Federal force, between twelve and thirteen thousand men, was at and near Harper's Ferry, Virginia. This force seriously threatened General Lee's line of communication by the Shenandoah Valley and it was essential to the success of his plans to be rid of it. Relying on a continuation of the cautious tactics of his opponent, he determined to detach a force sufficient to reduce Harper's Ferry, and drive away or capture the troops about there, confident of his ability to do this, and then reunite his forces in time to meet General McClellan.

The order for this movement was issued on the 9th of September, and was put into execution on the next day. General Jackson, with his own division and those of A. P. Hill and Ewell, moved directly upon Harper's Ferry; General McLaws, with his division and that of General R. H. Anderson, was ordered to occupy the Maryland heights, on the north side of the Potomac river overlooking Harper's Ferry. General Walker with his division of two brigades, was directed to take possession of Loudoun heights, on the Virginia side, also overlooking Harper's Ferry. These three columns were to cooperate against the enemy at Harper's Ferry. General Longstreet, with his command, embracing six brigades under D. R. Jones, Hood's two brigades and Evans' brigade, was ordered to move to Boonsborough and halt. General D. H. Hill, with his division, was made the rear guard, and ordered to follow General Longstreet.

It was not until the afternoon of the 14th of September that the

three bodies of troops co-operating against Harper's Ferry were in their respective positions and ready for operations.

On the 15th, after a brief engagement, the garrison at Harper's Ferry surrendered.

Meanwhile, on September 13th, General McClellan had reached Frederick, and it was there, by a strange accident, constituting one of the pivots upon which the result of the war seemed to turn, that he came into possession of a copy of General Lee's order, and was so made aware of the division of our army and of the comparatively small force that confronted him. His movements, so very slow up to this time, were greatly accelerated. In his report he says, "Upon learning the contents of this order, I at once gave orders for vigorous pursuit."

General Longstreet, with nine brigades, was now at Hagerstown, and General D. H. Hill, with five brigades, was at Boonsborough guarding the pass through South Mountain and immediately confronting the Federal army. General McClellan moved promptly on the morning of September 14th to force a passage here, and sent Franklin's Corps to intercept the movements of General McLaws, whose position, until the capture of Harper's Ferry, was one of great peril.

According to General D. H. Hill's official report, the strength of his division at this time was less than 5,000 men. For six or seven hours this force at South Mountain pass resisted the assaults of two corps of General McClellan's army. At about 3 o'clock P. M. General Hill was re-enforced by the brigades of Drayton and Anderson, and later in the day he was joined by General Longstreet, with the brigades of Pickett, Kemper, Jenkins, Hood, Whiting and Evans; only four of these, however, numbering about 3,000 men, became seriously engaged. Thus it will be seen that a force of less than 10,000 men resisted the assaults of two corps of the Federal army and held General McClellan in check for an entire day. General McClellan in his report states that he had 30,000 men in this encounter.

While General Hill was thus hotly engaged at Boonsborough pass, General McLaws was being pressed at Crampton Gap by General Franklin, in command of the force sent by General McClellan to overwhelm him and prevent his rejoining General Lee. The commands engaged in these encounters with the enemy were, of course, seriously reduced.

On the 15th of September General Lee had withdrawn the commands of Longstreet and D. H. Hill to Sharpsburg. On the same day, as soon as practicable after the capture of Harper's Ferry, General Jackson, with his division and Ewell's, began the march to rejoin General Lee. He left General A. P. Hill with his division at Harper's Ferry to take charge of the captured property and to parole the prisoners. General Walker, with his two brigades, followed General Jackson. General McLaws was enabled by the capture of Harper's Ferry to escape from the trap prepared for him, for he crossed the river and proceeded at once to rejoin General Lee by moving up the south bank of the Potomac. General Jackson, with his two divisions and Walker's, reported to General Lee on the afternoon of the 16th of September. General McLaws reached Sharpsburg in the forenoon of the 17th.

General A. P. Hill, with his division—except Thomas' Brigade, left in charge of Harper's Ferry—did not start to rejoin General Lee until the morning of the 17th. He made a forced march to Sharpsburg, seventeen miles distant, having to cross the Potomac river, reached the battlefield in the afternoon and went immediately into action.

I have given this review of the division and subsequent concentration of General Lee's army in order that the condition of the several commands that participated in the battle may be properly understood. In his official report General Lee says: "The arduous service in which our troops had been engaged, their great privation of rest and food, and the long marches without shoes over mountain roads, had greatly reduced our ranks before the action began."

The infantry under General Lee at Sharpsburg embraced the following:

Jackson's command—J. R. Jones' division of four brigades and Ewell's division of four brigades (under Lawton, until wounded, and then Early).

Longstreet's command—D. R. Jones' division of six brigades, Hood's division of two brigades and Evans' (unassigned) brigade, D. H. Hill's division of five brigades, R. H. Anderson's division of six brigades, A. P. Hill's division of five brigades (this other brigade was at Harper's Ferry), McLaws' division of four brigades and J. G. Walker's division of two brigades.

I will now state the strength of these several commands on the 17th day of September, as given in the official reports of their respective commanders.

General J. R. Jones says: "I found the division at this time very much reduced in numbers by the recent severe battles and the long and wearisome marches. * * * The division not numbering over 1,600 men at the beginning of the fight."

General Early says: "Lawton's brigade had sustained a loss (in this battle) of 554 killed and wounded, out of 1,150; Hay's brigade had sustained a loss of 323 out of 550. Including every regimental commander and all his staff, Trimble's brigade, under Walker, had sustained a loss of 228 out of less than 700 present, including three out of four regimental commanders." The casualties in his own brigade are not specifically given, but he further says: "The loss of the division at Sharpsburg alone was 199 killed, 1,115 wounded and 38 missing, being an aggregate loss of 1,352 out of less than 3,500 with which it went into that action."

General D. R. Jones says of his division: "When it is known that on moving my entire command of six brigades, comprised only 2,430 men, the enormous disparity of force with which I contended can be seen." The strength of General Hood's division at the commencement of the campaign was 3,852 (see return of July 20, 1862). His official report gives the loss of the division in the encounters with the enemy previous to the battle of Sharpsburg as 972. This would make his strength in that battle 2,880, making no allowance for straggling. General Evans states that his brigade numbered 2,200 effective at the opening of the campaign, and reports his loss in the battles about Manassas at 631; his brigade was also engaged at South Mountain and could not have exceeded 1,500.

General D. H. Hill says: "My ranks had been diminished by some additional straggling, and the morning of the 17th I had but 3,000 infantry." * * "In the meantime, General R. H. Anderson reported to me with some 3,000 or 4,000 men."

General A. P. Hill's command consisted of the brigades of Branch, Gregg, Archer, Pender, and Brockenborough. He states the strength of the first three at 2,000. The other two were smaller, but allowing the average, say of 700, for each and we have for the division a total effective of 3,400.

General McLaws reports in detail the effective strength of his four brigades carried into action as 2,893.

General J. G. Walker, who commanded his own and Ransom's Brigades, does not report his strength. General Ransom puts his effective strength at 1,600, and I have his authority for saying that

his brigade was larger than Walker's, making the strength of this division less than 3,200.

With the exception of the brigade last mentioned and the two brigades of A. P. Hill's Division, which are estimated, the following recapitulation is established upon indisputable and contemporaneous authority, being nothing less than the testimony of the commanding officers, as shown by their official reports made immediately after the battle:

Jackson's Command,	5,000
Longstreet's Command,	6,812
D. H. Hill's Division,	3,000
R. H. Anderson's Division,	4,000
A. P. Hill's Division,	3,400
McLaws' Division,	2,893
J. G. Walker's Division,	3,200
Total effective infantry,	28,305

The cavalry and artillery have been generally estimated at 8,000. They certainly did not exceed this. The returns of the Army of Northern Virginia for October 10th, 1862, shows an effective force of these two arms of the service of 7,870 men.

The figures given above can be verified by reference to the official reports of the operations of the Army of Northern Virginia, published by authority of the Congress of the Confederate States and also contained in the records of the Union and Confederate armies. Series I, Vol. XIX, Part I.

It is an abandonment of the argument to contend that the ranking officers in General Lee's army made their reports without knowledge of such important facts, and it would be a suggestion unworthy of notice to intimate that such men, in such a matter, would make any statement that was not true. In the one case, it would be a reflection upon their intelligence; and in the other, a denial of their integrity.

With the official reports of his subordinates before him, General Lee, in his report of this battle to the War Department, says: "This great battle was fought by less than 40,000 men on our side, all of whom had undergone the greatest labors and hardships in the field and on the march." The figures given in this statement will allow ample margin for probable discrepancies and yet be found within the numbers as reported by General Lee.

The army had marched and fought incessantly for over a month. Its route was marked by stragglers, who for many reasons had been unable to keep up with their commands. After the army crossed into Maryland, orders were given to collect these men and hold them on the south side of the Potomac, as it would have been dangerous for them to attempt to rejoin their commands while the army was operating in Maryland. I was sent by General Lee from Frederick City to Virginia to meet President Davis and dissuade him from his purpose of joining the army. On my return to General Lee, whom I rejoined just before the battle of Sharpsburg, I found the provost guard at Winchester with orders to halt and collect at that point all men who were attempting to rejoin their commands. The men returning from furlough, the stragglers from Cedar Run, Second Manassas, Chantilly, and Harper's Ferry, and those left on the march before the army crossed into Maryland, as well as in the hurried movements involved in the capture of Harper's Ferry, were collected on the south side of the Potomac and only rejoined their commands after the return of the Army to Virginia.

General McClellan did not renew his attack on the 18th of September; the day was one of comparative quiet; both armies had suffered terribly, and during the night of the 18th General Lee withdrew his army to the south side of the Potomac river.

Every day after the battle witnessed the return of a large number of men to their regiments, and those, together with the force collected about Winchester, made a very material increase in the strength of the army before the next regular return was made.

General McClellan, in his official report, states that he had in action in the same engagement 87,164 men of all arms. If, however, we undertake to construct a table of strength of his army after the method adopted by the critic of General Fitz. Lee's book, these numbers would be materially increased.

Treating all the engagements between the 14th and the 18th as one encounter, as does this critic, let us proceed to construct a statement, similar to his, of the strength of the Union army:

The return of that army for September 20th, 1862, shows an effective total of	93,149
The Federal loss at Boonsborough and Sharpsburg, as officially reported, was	14,794
The force at Harper's Ferry was about	12,000
Total strength, by this method,	119,943

We might thus contend that General Lee had 120,000 men opposed to him, which would bear to 57,000, the number of his army as made up by General Fitz. Lee's critic, about the same proportion as the "less than 40,000" reported by General Lee, bears to the "87,164 carried into action" by General McClellan.

WALTER H. TAYLOR.

[From the *Times Democrat*, June, 1895.]

GENERAL W. H. C. WHITING.

A CHEVALIER OF THE LOST CAUSE.

His Incomparable Gifts and One Misfortune—Were Mr. Davis and General Bragg Responsible for His Fatalities?

A recent elaborate and sympathetic article on the career of the late General W. H. C. Whiting, while properly eulogizing the hero of it, may have, unintentionally, done injustice to Hon. Jefferson Davis, as President of the Southern Confederacy, and General Braxton Bragg, who was conspicuous in the same cause. The phenomenal accomplishments of General Whiting are admirably summed up. Few men have been born into the world with such astonishing endowments of body and mind. His personal masculine beauty was a splendid shrine for one of the most brilliant, comprehensive, and versatile intellects. His record at West Point has not yet, I presume, been matched. The late Dr. Greebough, of the navy, who knew him well, declared to me that Whiting not only surpassed all of his military contemporaries in serious or manly accomplishments, but could even beat all the boys of his time playing marbles. He was by parentage a northern man, southern born, however, and, like Byron, his "blood was all meridian." My personal acquaintance with him was very slight, but it happened at a time when this extraordinary man was in the crisis of his destiny, and, perhaps, with as much delicacy as possible, I may clear up some of the adverse criticisms made, in all sincerity, no doubt, upon men who, like Whiting, are with the historic dead, and whose characters need not fear truth as well as commendation.

The charge made against Mr. Davis substantially is that he did not

thoroughly appreciate General Whiting, and so this gifted and intrepid soldier did not have the scope his eminent and exceptional talents, to say nothing of his services, deserved. This is a hard question to decide, where much, no doubt, could be said on both sides, but it may be due to Mr. Davis' memory, without injustice to the memory of Whiting, to state some facts which I have reason to believe well-founded.

HIS REMOVAL.

Whether Mr. Davis removed General Whiting from the field of active operations for wise or unwise motives or reasons, others must settle who are more competent to judge than myself; but my recollection is that nothing could have been more unfortunate for this wonderfully gifted officer than initially giving him command at Wilmington, N. C. We may charitably suppose that Mr. Davis intended no harm to General Whiting, for Wilmington was one of the important sea-gates of the Confederacy, and the man who defended it had need of just such engineering skill as Beauregard had at Charleston. I have always been under the impression from personal experience at the time when stationed at Wilmington, that General Whiting would have been spared many troubles if it had not happened that blockade running was one of the most demoralizing agencies at that place. He was honest and incorruptible, but like many another dazzling genius, he did not always avoid the danger of the "insidious spirit of wine." He was placed in a trying position, with very inadequate materials for exploiting his great talents. He was possessed of an active, fearless, resolute spirit, that loved the combat of the field of arms. He was presumably chafing under what he deemed the grievance of banishment from glorious combat. He felt unsphered, and this tormenting sentiment may have forced him into moodiness, and opened the way for what seemed his one temptation. At any rate, he never rested until, through the request of General Beauregard, he was assigned to an important command under that distinguished leader, who was operating in the vicinity of Petersburg against General B. F. Butler, who had been making a diversion in favor of General Grant at Bermuda Hundreds. I was told at the time that General Beauregard exacted from General Whiting a promise that he would not, while with him, use potent liquors. It appears to be a historical fact that Beauregard had Butler in what he called a sack, and Whiting was assigned to watch the neck of it so that the Federal commander, who, as Grant phrased it, was "bot-

tled up," should not slip away or uncork himself. There was a huge promise, coupled with lively expectation, that Butler and his whole force would be captured, and it was considered peculiarly significant that the man who made himself notoriously obnoxious—to put it mildly—at New Orleans, should be enmeshed and made prisoner by the Creole General. At the very moment when this master piece of strategy and dramatic revenge of time was about to be consummated, Butler escaped, and the blame is attached to General Whiting.

KEPT HIS PROMISE.

Some weeks afterward I happened to meet the chief engineer of General Beauregard near Charleston, and asked him if the misadventure was due to General Whiting's infirmity. He replied almost in these words: "You were never more mistaken. Whiting's failure was wholly ascribed to the fact that, like a man of honor and truth, he kept his promise. Had he had a single dram, at the critical moment, to clear his brain, Butler and his whole army would have been prisoners of war."

After this episode, General Whiting returned to Wilmington, and his subsequent career was at once heroic and inspirational. He performed prodigies of valor, and stamped himself as one of the most worthy of "the chevaliers of the Lost Cause," by grand tactics at Wilmington and the sacrifice of his life in splendid, but vain, defence of Fort Fisher. On the ruined ramparts of that fort he fought like a hero of old days, and only ceased to struggle when, what proved a mortal wound, closed his military achievements. There was then, and there is now, complaint that General Bragg did not come to his rescue when Fort Fisher was assailed on the land side by General Terry. It may be that Bragg was culpable, but it may be also that he could no more, for the same reason, help Whiting than Joseph E. Johnston could disentangle Pemberton at Vicksburg. This must be solved by experts. Many of the men who had consummate knowledge of the situation are dead, but they have left records, and some persons may survive who can set the matter right, without disparagement of any actors in the scene. What prominent general of our interstate conflict was free from commission of error, on either side? The greatest of all—Robert E. Lee—ascribed to himself the disaster at Gettysburg, although Major Kyd Douglas told the Count of Paris that Lee needed just such a reverse to admonish him that Stonewall Jackson was dead. At Shiloh, General Beauregard's unfortunate order of retreat saved the Federals from capture or destruction,

and made it possible for Grant to be afterward President of the United States. Colonel Frank Schaller, now no more, told me that when Bragg received the order to retire from the cowering enemy and harmless gunboat fire, his indignation was boundless, and, in a fury, he broke his sword across his knees. It is strange that this same General should, by any fault of his, have subsequently permitted the intrepid Whiting to be defeated and virtually slain.

COLONEL SCHALLER.

Right here I desire to pay a tribute to my dear friend, Colonel Frank Schaller. He was, in a large degree, the equal of General Whiting in the range and profundity of his gifts and acquirements. He was a highly trained soldier, a classic and scientific scholar, a writer of the first order, a man of almost prophetic insight, and an adept in all physical equipment or martial exercises. Long before the event, he wrote an editorial for me in an Augusta paper, predicting the downfall of Louis Napoleon, and reciting analytically the causes of that memorable overthrow. He showed, with mastery and seership, that this monarch was, when advancing to Italian victory, also marching to Sedan, and Parisian revolution, as Mr. Ropes demonstrates, long after the event, that the First Napoleon, when progressing towards Austerlitz, was none the less moving fatally to Waterloo and St. Helena. Colonel Schaffer did not, as some of us thought, get the reward in proportion that he deserved, but I cannot recall that he ever murmured. He was by birth a Pole, and by adoption a Georgian. He taught a school at Athens, Georgia, and died in pedagogic harness, in the golden prime of manhood. Peace be with him and with his spirit, for he was a grand character, and never was there "a bolder spirit in a more loyal breast."

In reviewing some of the passages in the life of General Whiting, I have striven to be just to him as well as to Mr. Davis and General Bragg. The one fault of Whiting was so magnificently atoned for, that it will not dim the lustre of his true glory. He merits all of the honor that his admirers claim for him, without seeking to injure his superiors or compeers, and nothing so became him as his heroic end, which was peaceful, resigned, and pathetically courageous. Napoleon said at St. Helena, that the misfortunes he finally encountered were necessary to give sublimity and roundness to his character. Relatively, we may say the same of General Whiting, and trust that the Southern people, and especially North Carolinians, will some day make his memory monumental and sublime.

James R. Randall.

[From the Daily Charlotte (N. C.) *Observer*, April 7, 1895.]

WADE HAMPTON'S STRATEGY.

AN ATTACK ON RICHMOND FOILED.

Kilpatrick and Dahlgreen, with 4,000 Cavalry, were Planning to take the Almost Defenseless City, Burn it and Kill the President and Cabinet.

The South complains, and justly, of Northern historians for their misrepresentations of facts, and the men of the South who made the facts, during the war between the States.

A man's enemies are they of his own household, declares Sacred Writ, and when we come to consider the subject of this paper and the inaccuracy of two of our own historians with reference to it, the question forces itself, What can we do to deliver us from our friends?

A great injustice has been done that grand man and soldier, Wade Hampton, by both Pollard in his "Lost Cause," and McCabe in his "Lee and His Campaigns." Both of these historians recognize the peril that threatened Richmond and its inhabitants of sack, pillage and murder from the raid of Kilpatrick and Dahlgreen in March, 1864.

Pollard says: "In a general history there is little space for detached events. But we must make an exception to this rule in case of an expedition of Federal cavalry directed against Richmond in the month of March, 1864; a very small incident in military view, it is to be taken among the most interesting events of the war, as containing one of the most distinct and deliberate evidences of the enemies' atrocity that had yet been given to a shocked and surprised world."

McCabe says: "An expedition consisting of 4,000 cavalry was fitted out with great care, for the purpose of capturing Richmond and releasing the Union prisoners confined there. The command of this expedition was intrusted to Kilpatrick. He was seconded by Ulric Dahlgren, a young officer of great skill and daring. The plan of the expedition was as follows: A column under General Custer was to make a dash on Charlottesville to draw attention from the main body which was to proceed to Beaver Dam, on the Central Railroad; arriving there, the column was to be divided, a part under General Kilpatrick was to move on Richmond along the north bank

of James river, while the remainder under Colonel Dahlgreen were to cross to the south side, move down the right bank of the James, release the prisoners on Belle Isle, opposite Richmond; recross the river, burning the bridges after them, and rejoin Kilpatrick in the city. Richmond was to be given to the flames and President Davis and his cabinet killed."

Up to this point in the transaction both historians are accurate enough—but let us see farther. McCabe says: "Kilpatrick approached the city by the Brook turnpike, and there, with scarcely a show of fighting, turned off and kept down the peninsula"; and Pollard says: "Kilpatrick moved down on the Brook turnpike on the 1st of March, near the outline of the Richmond fortifications and without once getting in range of the artillery, took up a line of march down the peninsula, while Dahlgren, not venturing to cross the high water of the James River, abandoned his enterprise on the south of Richmond, and, unapprised of the ludicrous cowardice and retreat of Kilpatrick, proposed, by moving down the Westham plank road, which skirted the river, to effect a junction with Kilpatrick, with a view of further operations, or add to the security of his retreat."

The injustice of this account done to Kilpatrick is not within the scope of this article. But why the splendid strategy of General Wade Hampton should be so entirely ignored, by which the enemy were foiled in their plans, and the city of Richmond saved from the impending fire and carnage, is a fact beyond the comprehension of the writer; and that this misstatement of facts should exist when one of the historians at least was in Richmond at the time, a member of the editorial staff of the Richmond *Examiner*, which paper contained, the day after the deliverance of the city, an accurate account of the conflict that brought such magnificent results.

The true history of Kilpatrick's raid and the causes of its failure are these: On Sunday, the 28th of February, 1864, General Kilpatrick crossed the Rapidan river at Germanna ford with about 2,000 picked men from the cavalry force of the enemy, and proceeded in the direction of Richmond, executing the movement with such celerity and skill that he succeeded in cutting the railroad in rear of General Lee's army, which was then lying in winter-quarters around Orange Courthouse, without serious opposition; thus cutting off the possibility of sending reinforcements to Richmond, which was in an almost entirely defenceless condition. After detaching, at Beaver Dam, 500 men under Colonel Dahlgren, and sending them

around to the north of Richmond, Kilpatrick, with the remainder and main body of the force, about 1,500 strong, proceeded in a southeasterly course, going into camp on the night of March 1st near Atlee's Station, nine miles from the city, on the Virginia Central Railroad. This raid was so well timed by the enemy that there were only two regiments of cavalry on the right flank of the Army of Northern Virginia to oppose them. These were the 1st North Carolina, Colonel Cheek commanding, and the 2d North Carolina, Colonel Andrews commanding, in winter-quarters near Milford Station, in Caroline county, nearly fifty miles from the picket lines on the Rapidan river, and so depleted were they by details for picket and other duties, that the effective cavalry force in hand with which to operate against this raiding party, consisted of 200 men from the 1st North Carolina Cavalry and fifty men from the 2d North Carolina Cavalry. General Jas. Gordon, the gallant and lamented Gordon, to whose brigade these regiments belonged, was absent on short leave, so Major-General Wade Hampton entered into the minutest details in handling this shadow of a force against the bold movements of Richmond's would-be destroyers.

After preparing several days' rations, this force mounted at 8 o'clock Monday, February 29th, and moved down the Fredericksburg Railroad in the direction of Hanover Junction, accompanied by two pieces of Hart's Battery of Artillery, that was wintering near. General Hampton, this Gideon who always accomplished the most magnificent results with the least possible loss, well knowing that his force was too small to seriously embarrass the movements of the enemy by direct attack, kept his men in hand, preserving their spirits and the strength of them and their horses, waiting to strike the enemy a blow under the fifth rib when it was possible to be accomplished. All of Monday night and Tuesday we were in the saddle and on the alert, though not all the time in motion. Keeping at a respectful and safe distance from Kilpatrick, and avoiding an encounter, General Hampton was keeping himself, through his scouts, thoroughly posted on the movements of the enemy.

Tuesday night, March 1, 1864, the light of camp-fires at Atlee's Station, nine miles from Richmond, was plainly visible several miles to our front, and between us and Richmond. Fires that were doubtless made to guide Dahlgren, were as brilliant to us as to him, so toward them we immediately took our line of march, the vicinity of which we reached shortly before midnight. Our progress was necessarily slow, on account of the rain which had fallen continuously

since we moved out the night before. The mud by this time had become deep, and horses and men were somewhat jaded. At 10 o'clock the rain had ceased, and snow began to fall; and our clothing, before wet, now began to freeze. When you add all this to that seeming natural tremulousness that is the accompaniment of a night attack under the most favorable circumstances, it will readily be admitted that this combination was enough to shake up a tin soldier. We had approached within a mile of the camp-fires when we were brought to a sudden halt by a volley poured into the head of our column by the enemy's pickets; but on account of the pitchy darkness only one man was wounded, Sergeant McNeil, of Company C, First North Carolina Regiment, being shot through the arm. Perfect silence had been enjoined by General Hampton for two reasons. The camp-fires being so close to Richmond and between us and the city, they might be those of friends, and this information must be obtained before any attack was made. If they were those of the enemy, our arrangements must be perfected before the enemy were roused from their slumbers. So in silence and without pursuit of the pickets that had fallen back, we waited until the alarm was supposed by them to be false. Then General Hampton ordered the first squadron of the First North Carolina Regiment, composed of Companies F and C, to dismount, deploy as skirmishers, advance toward the camp, and when assured of the fact that foes, not friends, were in front, to charge the camp. The captain of Company F, being the ranking officer, had command of the execution of these details and the subsequent attack. When this skirmish line had advanced a short distance, a horse was discovered tied to a fence, which had been abandoned by those who had fired and fallen back; this horse was equipped with new bridle, saddle and blanket, that pointed sharply to the fact that the enemy were near; but this suspicion was forced to a certainty of conviction when our advance brought us near enough to the picket, who challenged "Who comes *there?*"

General Hampton was quickly informed of the certainty of the enemy's presence. He quickly placed the two pieces of Hart's Battery in position on an eminence close by, and gave instructions to the commander of the dismounted men to charge when the artillery had fired fourteen shells into the enemy's camp. We were now within 150 yards of the sleeping foe, who seemingly, overcome by the exposure and fatigue of three days and two nights of severe weather, were now an easy victim to surprise and panic. This little band of forty dismounted men counted the shells with great precision

as they went over their heads into the enemy's camp, which were fired with that rapidity which would indicate to a startled foe the presence of as many batteries as there were pieces. As soon as the fourteenth shell had passed on its mission of inquiry, those dismounted men rose and charged the enemy's camp with all the noise that could emanate from forty mouths with the dreaded rebel yell; and from forty well-handled repeating carbines; all of this conducted by old "vets" who so well knew that what we lacked in numbers must be compensated for in noise and rattle.

The night attack of the three hundred of Israel that put to flight the hosts of the Midianites was not more successful than this one. The enemy, routed, were driven from their camp in the greatest consternation. Many of them left their horses and equipments behind them, some mounting bareback, and all left with the greatest celerity. The charge was made so swiftly that we got to the house which was occupied by the officers in command as headquarters just as they were getting out of it; and Corporal Goodman, of Company F, had a personal encounter with a Yankee colonel, around the same corner of the house. Each was using the corner as a shield against the attack of the other. The colonel thrusting his pistol around the corner fired and carried off one of Goodman's fingers, and Goodman with his carbine fired and brought down the colonel, severely wounded in the breast.

When we had charged across the enemy's camp the dismounted men were reinforced by the remainder of the 1st North Carolina as a precaution against the enemy's return to the attack when they had time to form. But so thoroughly convinced were they of a large force on our part, that this apprehended attack was not made by them. This we gathered from the country people, who told us next day as we followed their line of retreat to the Old Church in New Kent county, that the enemy said they had been attacked the night before by 3,000 cavalry. The result of this affair, as to carnage and capture, was a loss to the enemy of twenty killed and wounded, 100 horses, 300 stand of arms, about the same number of saddles, and a great many blankets. The loss on our side during the charge was Captain Goodman, just mentioned, and Private E. Lipe, Company E, 1st North Carolina Cavalry, the latter shot through the lungs and disabled for the remainder of the war. All this had transpired by 3 o'clock Wednesday morning, when our and the enemy's wounded were started off for Richmond by a circuitous route lest they would fall in with the enemy if going by the most direct road.

When about a mile from the late scene of action the ambulances, under charge of surgeon Williams, of the 2d North Carolina Cavalry, were met by a column of troops. The driver of the advance ambulance, sharing in the elation of our victory, commenced to relate vociferously the events that had just transpired to the officer at the head of this column, supposing in the darkness that they were some of our own people. Dr. Williams coming up at this juncture, realizing from some cause, perhaps from pronunciation, as in the case just related, that he was in the presence of the enemy, remarked to the officer in command that he supposed that he and his train were captured. The officer asked him what command had done all this mischief. Dr. Williams discreetly replied that it was Hampton's Division. After a few remarks the officer dismissed Dr. Williams, telling him he did not wish to be encumbered with wounded, and thinking that he was doubtless in a very critical situation, marched no further in the direction of the camp-fires he had been seeking, but filed off by a left-hand road, making all possible haste to the Peninsula. This force was the 500 picked men, under Dahlgren, who had gone to the upper James, and being unable to cross, as was his first design, on account of continuous rains, was now seeking a junction with Kilpatrick, with a view of making a combined attack on Richmond at daylight next morning. The purpose of this paper is not to expand on the gallant Dahlgren and the tragic ending of his life next day—they are matters dilated upon at great length by both historians mentioned, when the causes that forced him into King and Queen county in such defenceless condition and that accomplished the failure of this dastardly enterprise, have been entirely ignored. But for Hampton and his little band of, shall I say, braves, Kilpatrick and Dahlgren would have combined their forces that night, and at dawn would have taken and burned the city, released the prisoners, and if all their designs were accomplished would have murdered the President and his cabinet. This was of easy accomplishment, because there were no troops in the city to defend it, and none could be gotten from Lee's army over the railroad the enemy had destroyed.

It is possible that these flourishing historians attribute the deliverance of the city to the cowardice of the enemy, because it would not sound grand to say that the capital of the Confederate States of America, and the capital of the great Commonwealth of Virginia, the mother of Presidents and generals, was saved from destruction by two hundred and fifty "Tar Heels," under a general who came

within one hundred miles of being one himself. Two hundred and fifty "Tar Heels" and only forty of them engaged, saved the city—oh, no! As the fellow who was dying said, I don't mind passing to to the realities of an unknown world; I contemplate that with the most perfect composure, but it does break my heart to think that I am dying and am summoned to the Great Bar from the butt of a blamed little goat. If this could have been the active force that guided the deliberation of these historians, they were more discriminating and less candid than the writers of proud, imperial Rome, who did not hesitate to give to the discordant honk of geese the credit of their city's deliverance.

N. P. Ford,
Captain Co. F., First N. C. Cavalry.

[From the N. Y. *Sun*, Feb. 28, 1897.]

DAVIS AND DAVIDSON.

A Chapter of War History Concerning Torpedoes.

The Correspondence that Passed Between Jefferson Davis and Captain Davidson in Relation to the Services of the Latter Officer.

A letter from Captain Hunter Davidson, formerly of the Confederate naval service, dated Villa Rica, Paraguay, December 14, 1896, places at the disposal of the *Sun*, a fragment of personal experience during the Civil War, which is also, in its way, a contribution of value to the literature relating to that period. It was originally published in the Buenos Ayres *Herald*, but will of course find an incomparably greater circle of readers in this country.

Captain Davidson entered the navy with Admiral Luce in 1841, and they were together at the Naval Academy, Annapolis, twenty years later, while their friendship was renewed after the Civil War. As to the correspondence with Jefferson Davis, it speaks for itself, although it should be added that Captain Davidson considers that Mr. Davis was somewhat prejudiced against the navy, and that he attributes the particular omission of mention which he discusses, to Mr. Davis' having been informed of his criticism of the latter's

prejudices, Mr. Davis' history thus ignoring events discussed in many works on torpedoes.

BUENOS AYRES, December 5, 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Sir,—I write to ask that you will do an act of justice.

On pages 207–8, 2d vol. of your "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," you say: "This led to an order placing General G. P. Rains in charge of the submarine defences. * * * The secret of all his future success. * * * The torpedoes were made of the most ordinary material generally, as beer barrels fixed with conical heads. * * * Some were made of cast iron, copper, or tin, and glass demijohns were used. There were three essentials to success, viz: the sensitive fuse primer, a charge of sixty pounds of gunpowder, and actual contact between the torpedo and the bottom of the vessel."

You have thus gone into detail on the subject of torpedoes, and you continue at some length on the two following pages.

The inference to be drawn from reading your remarks on this subject, in days when you and I have passed away, and when it will be too late to correct errors, is that General Rains commanded the submarine defences of the South.

To him is due the success of this means of warfare. His "sensitive fuse primer" was "essential to success."

As President, you could not be expected to know much of the details of torpedo operations during such a terrible war as that of our second revolution; but whatever may come from your pen will be received by the world as the highest authority, even upon torpedoes.

I know it is too late to correct, unless a second edition be published; but you can answer my letter, and my children will have it to read.

The facts of the case are briefly these, so far as I am personally concerned: In the summer of 1862 I relieved Commander M. F. Maury, in command of the submarine defences around Richmond, by written order of the Secretary of the Navy, the result of which was the organization of a department, the application of an electric battery of convenient size and sufficient strength to the explosion of submarine mines; the construction of a large number of wrought iron mines (at the Tredegar Works), holding 1,800 pounds of gunpowder, which were placed at a depth of seven fathoms; the importation of insulated cable to connect the mines and the electric batteries; the manufacture of the plantinum or quantity fuse, which alone

was used in the electrical defences around Richmond, and in those at Charleston.

The department was completely organized before the 1st of January, 1863, both in personnel and material, and occupied nine well-constructed stations on the James River alone, connected by telegraph, and with the office of the Secretary of the Navy.

The effective work of this organization consisted in the partial destruction of the *Commodore Barney*, a gunboat, and the loss of many lives in August, 1863, and the complete destruction of the *Commodore Jones*, a large gunboat, and nearly all her crew in May, 1864.

These were the first vessels ever injured in war by any system of electrical defences.

In a long letter from the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Mallory, to me after the war, he says: "The destruction of the *Commodore Jones*, the leading vessel of Admiral Lee's fleet, which was ascending the James river to co-operate with General Butler in the attack on Drewry's Bluff by causing the retirement of that fleet, undoubtedly saved Drewry's Bluff, the key of Richmond."

Again he says: "I always regarded the sub-marine department under your command as equal in importance to any division of the army."

About the same time I received the most flattering letters from General Robert E. Lee, Admiral Buchanan and others on the subject of my services in command of the submarine defences; and it is with painful surprise I find you have forgotten a long letter of the same nature written me by yourself, as you do not even allude to any act of mine in your work.

In March, 1864, I ran down the James river from Richmond to its mouth in a small steam launch, and attacked the flagship *Minnesota* with a "spar torpedo," doing her considerable injury, and returned to Richmond without the slightest loss of any kind.

This was the only instance during our war, and the first, of course, where the "spar torpedo" was used with effect and without the loss of the attacking party, and therefore the only instance to establish the efficiency of the method. On this occasion the Russian sulphuric acid, &c., fuse was used, the same that Captain Glassell used against the "ironsides."

I commanded the submarine defences as a regularly organized electrical system in all its details and requirements until near the end

of the war under the orders of the Secretary of the Navy only, and never heard of any of General Rains' work, but in two instances.

Once, when told that he had placed a self-acting "torpedo" in the river, I immediately complained to the Minister of the impropriety of this act, as it would close the river to our vessels and seriously affect the management of my electrical submarine defences. By authority of the Minister I had the "torpedo" dragged for and removed.

The second instance was toward the close of the war, when some of these self-acting torpedoes of General Rains were again placed in the James river, and the Confederate steamer *Shultz* went down the river loaded with Federal prisoners to be exchanged at "City Point." Fortunately for the South there was not another pretext for the cry of murder and assassination against it. The *Shultz* passed the Rains torpedo going down and delivered the prisoners safely, but when returning she struck it and was destroyed.

During the years that I commanded the electrical submarine defences not a friendly skin was broken to my knowledge, and it must be remembered that I had to experiment and bring the system to perfection. I never met or communicated with General Rains or any one attached to his "submarine defences" during the war or since.

If your memory still fails you, there are four well-known officers living who can testify to the exactness of all I have here written, viz: Captains W. H. Parker, J. Pembroke Jones, John M. Brooke, and J. Taylor Wood.

I have therefore to request that as an act of simple justice you will answer this letter and correct the mistakes referred to.

Very truly and respectfully yours,

HUNTER DAVIDSON.

BEAUVOIR, HARRISON COUNTY, MISS.,
January 25, 1882.

CAPTAIN HUNTER DAVIDSON:

Sir—Yours of the 5th December (in duplicate) has been received and opens with a call on me to do you justice. If you were surprised at not finding in my book your name mentioned in connection with torpedoes, I was certainly not less so at your arraignment of me as having done you an injustice by the omission.

If you will refer to the preface of the book you will see in the first

paragraph the announcement of the purpose for which it was written; and on the seventh page the reason for numerous omissions of events entitled to consideration, as well as the expression of the hope that such omissions would be more than supplied by the reports and contributions of the actors in those events.

The motive which impelled me to an unwonted labor, that of writing a book, was from historical data to vindicate the cause of the Southern people, and to show that their conduct was worthy of their cause; a brief narration of military, naval, and civil affairs was annexed; but the reader was notified that I did not attempt to give an accurate account of all the important transactions of the war. Your letter indicates that you feel aggrieved because of General G. J. Rains being alone mentioned in connection with torpedoes. You infer that it will hereafter be supposed he was awarded the whole credit for that means of defence. I do not see that the text justifies such a conclusion, for on the page to which you refer me—207, Vol. 2—I wrote of torpedoes as a means known but undeveloped, adding: "It remained for the skill and ingenuity of our officers to bring the use of this terrible instrument to a perfection."

At a date long before this perfection had been attained General Rains is named incidentally with the order putting him in charge of submarine defences and the first rudely constructed torpedo at "Drewry's Bluff."

He had previously been distinguished by first using sub-terra shells with sensitive primers. See page 97, Vol. 2.

On page 102, Vol. 2, you may see to what I attributed the repulse of the enemy's fleet at Drewry's Bluff, and that the enemy, like myself, thought it was our artillerists and riflemen who disabled and drove off the fleet.

It seems to me that the remark "the secret of all his (Rains') future success consisted in the sensitive primer," is by no means a denial that success was obtained by other persons employing different methods. The description of the simple torpedoes employed by him was evidently not intended to apply to the large mines with electrical batteries of others, or to the various forms of torpedo vessels.

To our embarrassed condition I thought and think the small percussion torpedoes were best adapted, because an electric station, unless adequately protected, was liable to capture by a boat's crew, which would render the mine useless, and also because the mine with its battery was expensive, and had on an important occasion proved a failure.

If you read the "Southern Historical Papers," you must have observed how frequent are the contributions in regard to events of the war, and it has been my ardent wish that all who acted the patriots' part in our conflict, should publish in papers of the Society, a full account of whatever was specially known by them, so that its files should be a reservoir of facts for the use of the future historian.

If I had kown of the success mentioned by you, especially the daring feat of attacking the flagship Minnesota in a steam launch, I should doubtlesa have found space for an act of devotion like that of Glassell, but I should not have given to the narrative the graphic effect, which you, as the actor, can throw into it, nor have shown as you may the efficiency of the spar torpedo.

I hope that many officers that performed good service with torpedoes, may not think themselves treated with injustice because not named by me, but the rather find themselves included in the general notice quoted above, and sympathizing in the desire for a complete record, will do what I could not in contributing full reports of their services.

When I undertook the task of defending our cause, it was with the expectation of hostile criticism from our adversary, and with the readiness to encounter that.

My former letter to you, which you wish me to remember, was written from a desire to serve you and evinced my esteem for you as an officer, and my regard for you as a man.

Regretting the dissatisfied tone of your communication to which this is a reply, I am respectfully,

(Signed.) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

BUENOS AYRES, *April 4, 1882.*

HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS:

Sir—Your letter of the 25th of January is at hand. It was not my intention to continue this correspondence beyond your answer to my first letter, but that answer is such an aggravated repetition of the injustice you have done me in your book that I cannot refrain from calling your attention to the repeated historical mistakes you make. You say: "On page 102, Vol. 2, you may see to what I attribute the repulse of the enemy's fleet at Drewry's Bluff, and that the enemy, like myself, thought it was our artillerists and riflemen who disabled them and drove off the fleet."

The attack to which you thus refer occurred in the early part of

1862, before the system of electrical torpedo defences had been perfected by me.

The "contemplated attack on Drewry's Bluff" to which I refefred in my first letter to you, and concerning which I quoted from the letter of the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Mallory, occurred in 1864, as clearly shown in my letter and in Mr. Mallory's words, which I here repeat: "The destruction of the *Commodore Jones*, the leading vessel of Admiral Lee's fleet, which was ascending James river to co-operate with General Butler in the attack on Drewry's Bluff, by causing the retirement of that fleet, undoubtedly saved Drewry's Bluff, the key to Richmond."

How widely different in date and nature are the two circumstances, and yet you, of all persons, confuse them, and to my injury!

On the same page of your letter you express the opinion that percussion torpedoes were best adapted to our (the Confederate) condition, and you add that "on an important occasion" the electrical system "proved a failure."

Thus you ignore the fact I called to your attention in my first letter that percussion torpedoes closed our own channel ways against ourselves and completely destroyed one of our flag of truce boats, just after she had delivered a large number of prisoners of war, and you further make the assertion that electrical torpedoes failed on an important occasion, leaving to your readers the inference that my department made the failure, when I am satisfied you will know the failure was at Charleston and not under my command, and occurred during the absence of the drunken electrician, who afterward found the torpedo could not be exploded at all. Moreover, that he used the uncertain agent of frictional electricity, which never had any part in the regular system of electrical defences.

In fact, in every case of torpedo warfare during our Southern struggle, however insignificant, if not to my credit, such as the use of "beer barrels, glass demijohns," the exact weight of "sixty pounds gunpowder," and a "sensitive fuse," altogether exceptional in its application, and which achieved its triumph in blowing up our own ships; or in the case where a great electrical failure is made, the inference being that I made it, your memory is remarkably retentive; but where the case concerns me—such as compelling the retreat of a large fleet in the James river, and preventing its co-operation with the army at a moment of great danger to our cause, and the complete destruction of the enemy's leading ship by the electrical torpedo defences, devised and perfected under my command, and the

first success of that system of torpedo defences, now adopted in its more developed form by the whole world, when your friend General Rains' "beer barrel, demijohns and sensitive fuses" have long passed into oblivion, you persist in being wholly oblivious.

These letters will be published both in England and the United States, and I will use whatever means I am possessed of to give them all possible publicity.

Yours very respectfully,

HUNTER DAVIDSON.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, July 26, 1896.]

ROANOKE GRAYS.

Muster-Roll of the Company and Some of Its Casualties.

MOUNT MERIDIAN, VA., *July 19, 1896.*

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

I venture to send you the muster-roll of Company F, Roanoke Grays, of the Twenty-eighth Virginia Regiment, and some of its casualties during the late war :

M. P. Dyesley, captain; killed at Williamsburg.

George McH. Gish, first lieutenant; promoted to captain.

Richard Oliver, first lieutenant; resigned.

Hoge, first lieutenant; wounded at Gaines' Mill.

S. A. Repass, second lieutenant; captured at Gettysburg.

H. S. Trout, second lieutenant; served during the war.

Charles Burwell, second lieutenant; resigned.

William Watts, second lieutenant; promoted to major.

N. M. Read, first sergeant; elected lieutenant Company E, Twenty-eighth Regiment.

M. P. Preston, first sergeant; detached to Quartermaster's Department.

Andrew Lewis, first sergeant; discharged (non-resident).

A. H. Roller, first sergeant; served during the war.

Thomas Lewis, second sergeant; promoted to adjutant.

James Thrasher, second sergeant; killed at Petersburg.

A. M. Brooks, second sergeant; killed at Appomattox.

John A. Persinger, third sergeant; transferred to cavalry.
John Johnson, third sergeant; served during the war.
David Read, fourth sergeant; discharged.
J. H. Danner, fourth sergeant; served till close of the war.
Joseph Brand, sergeant; promoted to sergeant-major.

1. Private Baber, killed at Petersburg; recruit.
2. Joseph Baldwin, corporal.
3. John T. Barnes.
4. W. Barnes, killed at Petersburg.
5. C. T. Barnett, discharged.
6. —— Beckner, recruit.
7. Godlove Boone, discharged.
8. —— Bowles, recruit.
9. —— Brown.
10. —— Bruce, recruit.
11. —— Boyan, killed at Five Forks.
12. William Bryan, transferred.
13. —— Buck, wounded at Five Forks.
14. Jacob Camper, wounded at Williamsburg.
15. Ephriam Carroll, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
16. John Carroll, killed at Gettysburg.
17. David Collins, killed at Gettysburg.
18. John Dabney, discharged.
19. Elisha Damewood, killed at Sharpsburg.
20. Thomas Davis, died in hospital.
21. James Day, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
22. Leslie Dinwiddie, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
23. George Deyesley, died in camp.
24. —— Dobbins, recruit.
25. James Doherty.
26. John Feather.
27. Griffin Gish, corporal.
28. Jonas Gish.
29. —— Guthrie, killed at Second Manassas.
30. John Hardy, killed at Gettysburg.
31. —— Hawley, killed at Gettysburg.
32. John Harkrider.
33. John Hix, killed at Gettysburg.
34. John Hunter, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
35. —— Hymen, transferred.
36. John Irvine, discharged.

37. David Kufauver.
38. William Kufauver, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
39. John Kernes.
40. —— Gemon, recruit.
41. Thomas Lacy, killed at Boonesboro'.
42. Joseph Lemon.
43. William Lewis, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
44. Jacob Loony, killed at Petersburg.
45. John McFalls.
46. G. McGeorge, killed at Boonesboro'.
47. A. J. Mastin.
48. —— Meadow.
49. Jackson Mosely.
50. Jordan Murdock, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
51. —— Murray, recruit.
52. Elias Murray.
53. Joseph Murray, killed at Gaines' Mill.
54. Joseph Muse, wounded at Sharpsburg.
55. John Nichols, killed at Gettysburg.
56. —— Nunnally, recruit.
57. John Owens.
58. James Owens, recruit.
59. John Pagan, killed at Gaines' Mill.
60. Joseph Pagan.
61. Robert Phillips, killed at Gaines' Mill.
62. —— Price, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
63. Albert Ramsey, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
64. William Richardson, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
65. Dr. Rives, detached as surgeon.
66. Francis Rhoades.
67. Aaron Rhoades.
68. Michael Ruddell, wounded at Gettysburg; died.
69. Richard Ruddell, died in hospital.
70. Bird Ruddell.
71. George Ruddell, corporal, killed at Hatcher's Run.
72. Henry Ruddell.
73. Preston Reynolds.
74. J. Reynolds.
75. Robert Saunders, discharged.
76. William Schoonover.

77. Paul Schoonover, recruit.
78. Berry Little, detached as teamster.
79. J. N. Little.
80. J. W. Little.
81. C. H. Little.
82. Mathias Shaver.
83. James Shaver.
84. Jacob Shaver.
85. Jackson Short, died in hospital.
86. —— Simpson.
87. Dr. Stephens, detached as surgeon.
88. John Stump, killed at Hatcher's Run.
89. —— Tatum.
90. P. L. Terry, detached in Quartermaster's Department.
91. Peter Tinsley, chaplain.
92. J. H. Thompson.
93. John Turner, corporal.
94. William Underwood.
95. Jacob Vingard, died in hospital.
96. Nicholas Vingard.
97. —— Watson, killed at Hatcher's Run.
98. —— Webber, recruit.
99. —— Whitesell, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
100. Henry Whitten, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
101. W. L. Williamson, wounded at Gaines' Mill.
102. —— Woodward.
103. J. H. Womack, killed at Petersburg.
104. —— Wright, recruit, killed at Petersburg.
105. —— Gopp, killed at Boonsboro.

The above list shows that twenty per cent. were killed on the field of battle.

I have had the assistance of Hon. H. S. Trout and others in making up this roll. No doubt some are still overlooked.

A. H. Roller.

[From the New York *Sun*, September 18, 1896]

BUCKNER AND M'CLELLAN.

How the Former Clearly Outwitted the Latter.

Negotiations About Kentucky—General Buckner's Southern Sympathies, Which Carried Him into the Confederate Army.

General Buckner from his youth has been a potent personality. He was a notable figure throughout the civil war, and was numbered among the higher circle of Confederate leaders, although his State did not secede, and he was early driven from her borders by the advance of the Union armies. At seasons he bore a conspicuous part for his cause in shaping military events.

At the outbreak of the war, Buckner, then about thirty-eight years old, at the very zenith of his powers, was undoubtedly the most influential Southern rights man in his native State of Kentucky, by reason of his military education and experience, his wealth and high social connections. He had graduated from West Point in 1844, number eleven in a class of twenty-five cadets. Besides Generals Hancock, Pleasanton and Frost, his classmates, Buckner had, as associates in the academy, in the classes above and below him, many lads who afterwards distinguished themselves on both sides—U. S. Grant, McClellan, Kirby Smith, Jackson, Pickett, Wilcox, Franklin, Porter, Baldy Smith, Steele, Rufus Ingalls, and others of lesser note. Grant and Buckner were together three years at West Point, Grant having graduated in the class of 1843.

Buckner took part in the Mexican war as Second Lieutenant in the 6th regular infantry, and by his bravery and soldierly qualities made an ineffaceable impression upon his brother officers. He was wounded at the battle of Cherubusco. In 1852 he was made a captain and commissary of subsistence, a position much sought after by line officers. But army life in time of peace did not suit the ardent temperament of Buckner, and he resigned from the service on the 26th of March, 1855. For two or three years thereafter he was engaged in important business enterprises at Chicago. During this period, not having lost his interest in the military profession, he connected himself with the Illinois State Militia service, and by appointment be-

came Adjutant-General of the State. But about two years prior to the war Buckner returned to Kentucky, and settled upon his estate near Louisville. Here he resumed his military diversions by entering upon the organization of the Kentucky State Militia, a congenial employment in which he was eminently successful, thereby making himself very popular with an influential class of his fellow-citizens. In 1861 he had become Inspector-General of the State, and commanded the Home Guards, a military organization composed mainly of the young bloods of the blue grass region whose sympathies were almost wholly with the South.

These antecedents, the critical situation of affairs which created a field for his kind of talents, his surroundings, with the additional attraction of a striking presence and a magnetic address, made Buckner, at the beginning of 1861, a very important personage in Kentucky. His interests were largely at the North, but he was opposed to coercive measures, and believed firmly in the doctrine of State rights. His course throughout was consistent and honest. To use a threadbare phrase, he had the courage of his convictions. His attitude was well understood by the partisans of both sides, and as the clouds of civil war thickened, the eyes of the Kentucky secessionists who intended to fight were turned toward Buckner as their natural chief. And their chief he became; thousands of Kentuckians followed him out of the Union who would doubtless have remained at home but for his example. The great majority of Kentuckians wished to remain at peace in the Union, but the powerful influence of Buckner, Breckenridge, Marshall and others came near taking the State out. He was assiduously courted by the Southern leaders.

That Buckner's standing was high, is attested by the great esteem in which he was held by all his old military associates of Northern proclivities, who became familiar with him at West Point, and subsequently in the old army. So favorably was he regarded as a professional soldier, that strong efforts were made to bring him over. The temptations held out to him were great enough to shake any man of less strength than he. McClellan, Burnside, even the Government itself, made advances to forestall Buckner's evident intention to precipitate himself into the Confederacy. Among the unprinted archives in the War Department, is a telegram sent early in 1861 by Burnside to Buckner, adjuring him to take no steps until he could be seen personally. "I have just come from the President," telegraphed Burnside, indicating that Mr. Lincoln was willing to do

something to hold such a man to the Union cause. What that something was, is not certainly known, but it is said to have been a commission as general in the rapidly gathering armies of the North, although there was then no lack of material for general officers. McClellan appears to have thought that he was a man of capacity and promise in such a crisis, and did all in his power to prevent Buckner going astray. But he could not be swerved from his purpose.

Apropos of these interesting efforts to secure the adhesion of this brilliant man to the Union cause, is an episode that occurred while Kentucky was posing in the anomalous attitude of armed neutrality between the two sections during the spring and summer of 1861, a position assumed largely through Buckner's influence and advice. This condition of neutrality, if observed by the North, was held to be very advantageous to the South, for it was a well established fact that Unionist influence predominated in Kentucky and controlled the Legislature, which made it a physical impossibility to vote the State out of the Union. The next best thing for the Confederacy, of course, was to prevent its being utilized by the Federals. But doubtless the great desideratum with Buckner and the other Kentucky leaders was the safety of Kentucky herself, and immunity from the devastation of war.

George B. McClellan, one of Buckner's West Point chums, had been made by President Lincoln a major-general in the regular army, and placed in command of the Department of the Ohio, which was soon enlarged to include Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and other territory. His headquarters were at Cincinnati, where he had previously resided as superintendent of the Ohio and Mississippi railway. McClellan was a very attentive observer of the progress of events on the south side of the Ohio, and appeared to regret a state of neutrality which prevented him from occupying salient points on the opposite side for the defence of Cincinnati. In a letter to the War Department on May 10, 1861, McClellan writes that, "the Governor of Kentucky (Magoffin), is a traitor, and Buckner is under his influence, so that it is necessary to watch them." Again: "I confess that I think all our calculations should be based on the supposition that Kentucky will secede; everything points in that direction." However, McClellan soon changed his views on this point, for we find him writing on May 17th in this strain: "The Union men of Kentucky express a firm determination to fight it out. Yesterday, Garrett Davis told me, 'we will remain in the Union by voting if we

can, by fighting if we must, and if we cannot hold our own, we will call on the general Government for aid.'" Further on he said: "I have strong hopes Kentucky will remain in the Union, and the most favorable feature of the whole matter is, that the Union men are now ready to abandon the position of armed neutrality, and enter heart and soul into the contest on our side."

Buckner had not yet joined the Confederacy, but meanwhile held close relations with Governor Magoffin, whose military representative and adviser he was throughout this trying summer. In fact, as I have said, Buckner was the chief figure, and was very busy in those days with his coadjutors in maintaining the efficacious neutrality arrangement—worth more than an army of Kentuckians to the Confederacy –and perhaps fomenting opposition to the government. In furtherance of his purposes, whatever they were, he sought an interview with McClellan through Samuel Gill, a brother West Point graduate. As there could be no reasonable objection to the proposal, McClellan received Buckner and his friend. In an official letter to the War Department, dated June 11th, he states that the meeting took place at his house in Cincinnati on June 8th, and this is what he says of it:

"We sat up all night, talking about matters of common interest. Buckner gave me his word that should any Tennessee troops cross the frontier of Kentucky, he would use all the force at his disposal to drive them out, and, failing in that, would call on me for assistance. He went to Tennessee after leaving here, to present that view to Governor Harris."

It is to be noticed that in this letter McClellan makes no allusion to any pledges to Buckner in return for this assurance. Only a few days after this meeting, however, McClellan had news that at least two Tennessee regiments had orders or were already moving to occupy Island No. 1, just below Cairo, and on June 11th, the same day he informed the department of the meeting at Cincinnati, he wrote promptly to both Magoffin and Buckner to notify them of this breach of "our understanding that you would not permit Tennessee troops to cross your frontier." Did "our understanding," then, simply mean Buckner's voluntary promise? Either the rumor of the Confederate advance was a false one, or McClellan's protest had the desired effect, for no invasion then occurred. Buckner's answer, if one was made, is not found among the official archives.

Subsequent events attached to this Cincinnati meeting of Buckner

and McClellan had unexpected interest and importance. It is evident that the Kentuckian was acting in good faith in the belief that he had a solemn agreement with the Union General that the State's neutrality was to be respected. At a later meeting of the two at Cairo, Ill., he gave McClellan the substance of an interview he had at Memphis with Pillow regarding the subject of neutrality. It is certain that he visited Pillow, and it was generally understood that through Buckner's representations an immediate advance by the Southern forces into Kentucky was prevented.

It would seem to be improbable on the face of it that Buckner volunteered his word of honor as a representative of Magoffin and the rampant secessionists of Kentucky, to keep out Pillow's Tennesseeans without receiving from the Union commander some pledge in return to carry back to them, some corresponding concession. That McClellan fully understood Buckner to be clothed with the necessary power or influence to prevent Pillow's advance is admitted in his protest of June 11th, which in some sort also confirms the probability of a mutual agreement wherein it alludes to "our understanding," although, of course, there may have been a jug-handle arrangement in which Buckner promised everything and McClellan nothing. Buckner being confident meanwhile that under existing conditions the Federals would commit no overt act, anyhow. But, inasmuch as there was then and for long afterwards no advance of the Union troops, McClellan's quick and curt protest at a threatened infringement of "our understanding" by the other side certainly warrants the belief, aside from Buckner's statement, that some comforting assurances were given him. Buckner, it is clear, could have no object in deluding his party.

What gave the Cincinnati interview peculiar significance was the appearance in the public press a few weeks later of a letter from Buckner to Magoffin, stating that he had entered into a specific agreement with McClellan at the Cincinnati conference that Kentucky's neutrality was to be maintained by both sides. Hence, that Buckner, who McClellan himself states was the soul of honor, believed there was such an understanding, is beyond the shadow of doubt. That there was a very general understanding that such stipulations existed is also certain. There is, in fact, no dispute that there was on the part of the Federal authorities, or its Western commanders, at least a tacit recognition of Kentucky's neutrality, lasting through several months. However, its expediency may have been

viewed in the beginning, it soon became palpable that the continuance of Kentucky's attitude of neutrality would estop if not prove entirely fatal to Union designs for the suppression of the war.

This neutral zone, if maintained inviolable, raised an impassable barrier between the North and the most vulnerable points of the new Confederacy, absolutely closed up the most available routes of invasion. It was a most absurd arrangement, if carried beyond a mere makeshift to soothe the people of Kentucky. All the advantages of such an arrangement accrued to the South, which merely asked to be let alone; the Confederates had no purpose to invade the North. Buckner's penetrating mind divined this, and no doubt that is why he entered the field of diplomacy and sought the conference with McClellan. If he really made a deal with the Union general, he clearly had the best of the bargain.

McClellan positively denied the existence of any pledge on his part to respect the neutrality of Kentucky. The publication of Buckner's letter to Magoffin threw him into a great heat, and his utterances display anxiety, because it was clear that he had taken a false step, which must be condemned by the Northern public. In his personal memoirs, issued in 1887, he takes pains to explain in detail his version of the Buckner interview. He says :

"The object of the interview was simply that we, as old friends, should compare views and see if we could do any good; thus I understood it. Buckner's main purpose seemed to be to ascertain what I should do in the event that Kentucky should be invaded by the secession forces, then collecting under General Pillow. Buckner was very anxious that the Federal forces should respect the neutrality of Kentucky, and stated that he would do his best to preserve it, and drive Pillow out should he cross the boundary line. I could assent to this only to the extent that I should be satisfied if the Kentuckians would immediately drive out any Confederate force that might invade Kentucky, and continued, almost in these very words: 'You had better be very quick about it, Simon, for if I learn that the Confederates are in Kentucky, I will, with or without orders, drive them out without delay.' I expressly told Buckner that I had no power to guarantee the neutrality of Kentucky, and that, although my command did not extend over it, I would not tolerate the presence of Southern troops in that State. Not many days afterward I met Buckner again at Cairo, and had a conversation with him in presence of John M. Douglass, of Chicago. Buckner had just then

returned from a visit to Pillow, and he clearly showed by his conversation that he understood my determination at the first interview, just as I have related it above. * * * Buckner's letter to Governor Magoffin, subsequently published, stating that in our first interview I had agreed to respect the neutrality of Kentucky, gave an incorrect account of the case, which was as I have stated it."

This is certainly explicit and clear enough, and undoubtedly recites the facts as McClellan remembered them, but as it was written twenty-six years after the event, it is possible he may have forgotten some of the details of his conversation with Buckner.

McClellan's correspondence at this period makes it probable that he was called to book by General Scott or President Lincoln about this matter, though no letter or telegram on the subject from the Washington end of the line is found. But on June 26th, after he had entered upon his West Virginia campaign, McClellan sent a long telegram to Scott from Grafton, in which he shows great anxiety to explain satisfactorily to his superior his relations with Buckner. "This transaction," said McClellan, "has surprised me beyond expression. My chief fear has been that you, whom I regard as my strongest friend in Washington, might have supposed me to be guilty of the extreme of folly." This telegram was supplemented by a letter on the same day, embodying the substance of both, and covering the whole case.

This contemporaneous letter is entitled to great consideration in summing up the misunderstanding of these two old friends, both truthful men, concerning "our misunderstanding," at Cincinnati. One thing is made clear by it—McClellan's "policy" at the time Buckner visited him was, and had been, a policy of strict neutrality toward Kentucky. It is not unlikely that, during a long night's conversation, without entering into any specific agreement, McClellan gave Buckner the impression that that policy of neutrality should continue, if the status quo was maintained, and he received no orders to the contrary from Washington. All the circumstances lend probability to this view.

Leslie J. Perry.

THE NEWMARKET CHARGE.

Gallant Deed of the Babes of the Confederacy.

Mr. Howard Morton, a Federal soldier, writes the following account of the Virginia Military Institute cadets' action in the battle of Newmarket, which appeared in the Pittsburg *Dispatch:*

Opposite is the enemy's line of gray, belching forth fire and smoke. Those immediately in front of us are comparatively inactive. They have not yet mended their broken fences. We look to the further end of the rebel line. Out from an orchard steps a small body of gray-clad troops. Something about them attracts attention; their marching and alignment are perfect, their step is unlike that of the veterans who marched against our front. Their movements are those of a crack battalion on dress parade. They look like boys; the strong glass shows they are boys. It is the battalion of pupils from the Virginia Military Institute, 225 in number.

These little fellows, whose ages range from fourteen to sixteen years, drawn from the best families of the Old Dominion, have closed their books for the summer vacation, but instead of returning to their homes and making glad the hearts of fond parents and brothers and sisters, were told to take their cadet muskets and join the army in the Valley. They have just arrived, and are eagerly marching to their baptism of blood. War is cruel at best, but who can excuse the cruelty that risks such bright young lives even in a righteous cause? Opposite them, holding the right of our line, is a battery of six twelve-pounders. The commander has observed the cadet battalion, and opened fire on it. The shells burst among the boys, but they don't seem to be disturbed in the least. Forward towards the black monsters the line moves, as though parading on the smooth lawn of the military institute whence they came.

Palings are being knocked from their fence; but they close up and present an unbroken line. We ask ourselves: Can they be so rash as to charge the battery? It is commencing to look that way. On, on they march, their line as straight as a rule, more palings are knocked from their living fence, and repairs are made as before, but the fence is shorter. They are almost in canister range. Surely they will face about and retrace their steps, but no, the little heads bend lower as they face the iron storm. The little muskets are

grasped tighter as on, on they rush. God have mercy on them. The deadly canister sweeps through their rank, shorter and shorter grows their line. Heaven pity their poor mothers, whose prayers are even now rising to heaven for their darlings' safety. Oh! that some pitying hand would stretch out to stay them, but on, on, on, they march right into the jaws of the black monsters.

Now they enter the smoke, they disappear. The thunder of six great guns is silenced. A juvenile shout is heard, and the survivors of that little band of heroes have captured the battery. Scarcely have we realized that they are victors until we find that they man the captured guns and turn them down our lines.

[From the Philadelphia *Times*, October 10, 1896.]

THE CAREER OF T. L. CLINGMAN.

The Sole Survivor of the Southern Ante-Bellum Senators.

ONCE A CONSPICUOUS FIGURE.

Made Many Telling Speeches in His Day. A Frequent Visitor to the "Field of Honor."

When the death of the venerable ex-Senator George W. Jones, of Iowa, was announced recently, the misstatement went with it that ex-Senator Bradbury, of Maine, was the only living member of the senatorial group that was in office previous to the outbreak of the rebellion. This was a curious mistake, in view of the fact that ex-Senator Harlan, of Iowa, is very much alive, that he was not only prominent as a senator and a member of the first Cabinet of Lincoln, but also that he was an eager candidate for the nomination for Governor of Iowa last year, and that only a short time before the death of Jones he had made a stirring speech to the old soldiers on Memorial Day.

Less curious, perhaps, yet still remarkable, was the fact that almost no commentator upon the death of Jones and the ante-war senatorial group remembered that the last of the Southern Senators to leave the Senate on account of the secession of States is still in the land of the living.

Thomas Lanier Clingman, of North Carolina, almost as prolific a coiner of speeches as Senator Stewart or Senator Call, remained in the Senate until the close of the extra session of the Senate which followed the inauguration of Lincoln. The body adjourned on March 28, 1861, and this one lone senator from a seceding State, said good-bye to his associates, and passed away only to meet his Northern friends on the field of battle. Bradbury had ended his career in the Senate several years before Clingman entered the body, and Jones also ante-dated Clingman, the one having been born in 1805 and the other in 1806, while Clingman first saw the light of day in 1812

Jones was a man of striking appearance, and has attracted much attention during the last few years by his venerable presence. He was a voluble conversationalist and a veritable cyclopedia of the persons and incidents of the '30s, '40s and '50s. After all he was remembered chiefly on account of the fact that he was the second of Cilley in the celebrated Cilley-Graves duel, fought to a finish with rifles, amid the hills of Maryland, and when Jones' principal was practically murdered.

Clingman was not only a second in duels, but he was more than once a principal. His most famous meeting was with one of his Southern colleagues, William L. Yancey, of Alabama, on account of words used by the latter during the famous debate upon the question of Texas' annexation. Clingman had twitted Southern senators harshly for their indifference in regard to a resolution bearing upon the reception of petitions from Abolitionists, he supporting the right of petition. Yancey replied to his reflections with one of the bitterest and most personal of the tirades which made the Congresses of that day remarkable. He declared that Clingman was everwhere viewed as the betrayer of his country. He was looked upon as a renegade recreant to the principles and interests of the South. He had gone over to the ranks of enemy, and then turned and flaunted the colors of that enemy in the faces of his own friends.

Of course, such language could have but one result. Indeed, it was plainly intended to provoke a hostile meeting. Clingman promptly sent a challenge, which was promptly accepted. The place chosen was not the famous ground at Bladensburg, but farther to the south, and but a short distance from the scene of the Cilley-Graves tragedy. Previous to the meeting, however, mutual friends made every attempt to arrange the difficulty, and when the irate gentlemen faced each other, they shot to miss; friends then brought them to-

gether. Yancey made the amende honorable and the affair ended without bloodshed.

During his three terms in the House Clingman plunged into debate upon every question, sometimes with more zeal than discretion, and frequently made himself the subject of sarcasm at the hands of members who felt able to cope with him. Many times he narrowly escaped compulsory visits to the field of honor, though he rarely sought to provoke a resort to pistols. He was really a most gentle and lovable man, and preferred the pursuits of peace to the wrangles of the legislative hall. After his course in the University, where he showed a great aptitude for the acquirement of learning, he studied surveying and tramped the mountains of the old North State with the compass and sextant. He established the height of many of the most prominent peaks, and one in the Black Mountain is called Clingman's Peak, and one in Smoky Mountain will always be known as Clingman's Dome. He was also geologist, lapidary and botanist, and gave to the world valuable information of the existence in his State of gold, diamonds, rubies, platinum and mica.

When the first wave of Darwinism swept over the world Clingman took up the cudgels for the Hebraic view of the creation of man, one of the best of his many preserved papers in his exposition of the "Follies of Positive Philosophers." He lectured upon almost all subjects, and was as much at home in the domain of astronomy, as of gastronomy, a topic upon which he was fond of writing and talking.

His career in the Senate was brief and stormy. He took his seat by appointment in 1858, and was subsequently elected for a full term, which began only a short time before he passed from the body into the Confederate army. When Congress was called in extra session in July, 1861, to consider the question of preserving the Union, Clingman failed to put in an appearance. No notice of his resignation had been received. After a few days, his name, with the names of several others who had left the Senate long before the day when Clingman was last seen there, were embodied in a resolution of expulsion. James A. Bayard, father of the present Ambassador, with a number of others, attempted to amend the resolution that it should provide merely that the names of the members be stricken from the list of senators, and the vote for the expulsion of the recalcitrants showed ten negatives, the most prominent among them being Bayard, John C. Breckinridge, Jesse D. Bright and Andrew Johnson. Among those voting for the resolution were Zach Chandler,

Seward, Sumner, Hale, Wade, Cameron, Harlan, Trumbull, Wilson, Fessenden, Anthony and Douglas. Among those from the South who had left the Senate previous to Clingman's disappearanec, were Jefferson Davis, James M. Mason, Judah P. Benjamin, Robert Toombs, Slidell, and others hardly less notable. It is by all odds the most historical Senate in its membership that has ever assembled, or there is hardly one whose name is not written indelibly in history. Of all the notable Southerners, Clingman is the only one remaining above the sod, and Harlan is the only one of the Northern side.

Of the long list of great ones who were then in the House, such as Charles Francis Adams, Thaddeus Stevens, Conkling, Bingham, Burlingame, Cox, Henry Winter Davis, Sherman, Lovejoy, Vance, Lamar, Sickles, Grow, Dawes and so on, the only living ones are Sherman, Sickles, Grow and Dawes, and of the combined membership of the House and Senate of that period, Sherman and Grow are the only ones who are in the roster of the current Congress.

Clingman is alive, and that is all. His name will soon be added to the list of the dead, and then the Southern wing of that extraordinary Senate may be assembled complete in another world. Months ago Clingman disappeared from Washington, and even here there are a few who, if they were asked in regard to him, would not say that he is dead. The plain truth is that the old gentleman had exhausted his means. Not only that, but his mind has been gradually weakening for years and he needed attention, which he could not have commanded except among those of his own State and who knew and loved him. First he was taken to Confederate Soldiers' Home, but this was too much for the pride of his State, the people of which ever held him in high esteem, and, broken in body and wind, without a dollar of his own in the world, he is now living at his old home at Asheville upon funds which are delicately placed at his disposal by friends who will not permit so exalted a citizen to live the late evening of his life in a charitable institution.

Almost as soon as the first bitterness of the war and of reconstruction began to be less poignantly felt, Clingman reappeared in Washington. During the sittings of Congress the place had fascination for him that he could not resist. He stopped at a prominent hotel as long as his purse would permit it, and then a boarding-house of the better sort was his home. For long years he was accustomed to being pointed at in public places as one of the chief figures of the days of the rebellion.

In 1878 he issued a volume of speeches and lectures, along with

notes and comments. The copies in the Congressional Library appear to have been well thumbed, and are evidently esteemed to be of some importance to history. He was the originator, moreover, of a wonderful theory of making tobacco a cure-all for all the ills of human flesh, and during many of the years when he was in Washington, it was a souce of much chagrin to him, that his friends seemed to grow tired of his expatiations relative to the virtues of the immortal weed as a panacea. Much of the remnant of his fortune was spent upon the publication of a pamphlet upon this subject, but it seems to have gone the way of Pleasanton's blue grass cure, and whether the theory of Clingman was good no one can tell.

Clingman was a man of intense self-appreciation. His desire to be remembered as a great factor in the affairs of the nation was something stronger than even that which is felt by most men of ambition. As a young man, and as the aged companion of the "colonels," "majahs" and "Judges," of that genus which was for a few years so plentifully represented, but which is now well nigh extinct. Clingman was of handsome and commanding appearance. He was always dressed with fine care until his purse gave out, and even then his threadbare and shining coat set on him so nicely, that anyone would know it was the coat of a gentleman, and that the gentleman was inside.

He and the late W. W. Corcoran were intimate friends, and it was through the friendship of the latter that Clingman's portrait, painted with his favorite pose when speaking in the Senate, was placed in the Corcoran Gallery of Art. Frequently the old man would walk into the gallery and remain for a long time in front of the painting, while the passing crowd would stand agape in wonder, recognizing that the original of the portrait stood there, and wondering why this gentility run to seed, should have been so honored with a place in one of the great art galleries of the land.

For years it hung in the gallery of portraits, among canvasses of Presidents, Senators, Judges and great generals of the war on both sides. At one time in the shifting of the pictures, that of Clingman was placed much above the "line" in one of the corner rooms. The writer happened to be passing when the ex-senator entered. He had missed the portrait from its accustomed place and had sought until he found it.

"Why do you suppose they placed it here, in this dark room?" he inquired in plaintive tones.

"Oh, it's probably just a temporary change," was the answer.

"I do hope it is," he murmured, his lips trembling and the tears springing to his eyes. "I want that portrait to remain always among the portraits of my friends."

Reference to Mr. Corcoran brings to mind what is probably the only genuine *affaire de cœur* of Clingman's life. It is a romantic story, known only to a few of the old man's friends, and may be referred to now without offence to any one. When the ex-senator entered the House he was a suitor for the hand of Corcoran's only daughter and the heiress to the great estate of the philanthropist, which estate, however, was a very small one in those days compared to the millions comprised in it at this time.

Young Clingman was a gallant and persistent suitor, and as the father stood aloof there was a good prospect that Miss Corcoran would honor the brilliant North Carolinian with her heart and hand. Another figure intruded in the way, however. Senator Slidell, afterwards a famous prisoner of war, had for his private secretary a young man named Eustis, of Louisiana, a brother of the present ambassador to France. The private secretary was not in the least disheartened by the rivalry of the popular representative. He belonged to one of the first families of his State, and admitted no superiority. The struggle between the two Southerners was long and generous, and when the lady finally decided in favor of the Louisianian, the North Carolinian was generous and hearty in his congratulations.

That Clingman's disappointment was keen and lasting was not to be discovered by any outward display, but that the wound was too deep to be healed was proven by the fact that he remained and will die a bachelor.

It is said that this affair had much to do with the recklessness exhibited by Clingman in the war, and which led to his rapid promotion to the rank of general.

"Let us make this a Thermopylæ," said Clingman to Joe Johnston, when they were surrounded by Sherman's army.

"I am not in the Thermopylæ business," retorted Johnston, and surrendered forthwith.

[From the Dallas, Texas, *News*, December, 1896.]

LAST BATTLE OF THE WAR.

It Was Fought on the Rio Grande in Texas.

The Last Volley of the War Said to Have Been Fired by the Black Boys in Blue.

In the November, 1896, issue of the *Confederate Veteran*, W. J. Slatter gives an interesting and well-written article on the battle of West Point, Ga., which occurred April 16, 1865, and which he says was "really the last battle of the war between regularly organized forces." With all due respect to the brave heroes of that battle, history does not bear the writer out in the fact that the West Point battle was the last battle of the war. The last battle of the war between regularly organized forces was fought in Texas May 13, 1865, and called "the battle of Palmetto Ranch," near the city of Brownsville, Texas, on the Rio Grande. This battle was fought between the 3d Brigade, 1st Division, 25th Army Corps, United States Troops, commanded by Colonel Theodore H. Barrett, of the 62d United States Colored Troops, and the Southern Division, of the Western sub-district of Texas, commanded by Brigadier-General James E. Slaughter, C. S. A. The United States troops actually engaged were as follows: 34th Indiana Veteran Volunteers (Morton Rifles) Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Robert G. Morrison; 62d United States Troops, under Lieutenant-Colonel David Branson; 2d United States Texas Cavalry (not mounted), Lieutenant James W. Hancock. Colonel Barrett, in his official report—Vol. 48, Part 1, page 266, Official Reports, Union and Confederate Armies—says the above regiments were engaged and under him, but fails to give the whole number of his troops engaged, while Colonel John S. Ford and Captain W. H. D. Carrington, Confederate officers and both participants in the battle, say the Federal force was between 1,600 and 1,700 strong.

From Lieutenant-Colonel David Branson's report, page 267, same official report mentioned above, I draw this fact, that at least 250 men of the 62d United States, fifty-two men of the 2d United States Texas, and 200 men of 34th Indiana Regiments were actually en-

gaged, making 500, though from Colonel Barrett's report I would draw the fact that the 200 men detached and mentioned above by Branson were driven or had retired to a hill were the 34th Indiana had already taken position, leaving the impression that the entire 34th Indiana Regiment was in the fight. Colonel Ford, I think, was about correct in the number of troops engaged on the Federal side.

Confederate States Army troops under Slaughter engaged: Benavides' Regiment, five companies cavalry, Colonel John S. Ford; Carter's Battalion, three companies, Captain W. H. D. Carrington; Giddings' Battalion, six companies, Captain William Robinson; Jones' Light Battery, Captain O. G. Jones; Wilson's Cavalry, one company (unattached), Captain T. R. Wilson; Cocke's Cavalry, one company (unattached), Captain J. B. (?) Cocke.

If these companies were full, there would be about 1,500 men, but Captain Carrington, in his report of the battle, says that on May 1, 1865, there were about 500 Confederate troops of all arms on the Rio Grande, and Colonel Ford says this is substantially correct, and that Captain Carrington is also correct when he says that there were only about 300 Confederates engaged in the battle of May 13, 1865. Lieutenant-Colonel Branson says the attacking force was about 250. From the light before me, then, there about 300 Confederates to 500 Federals, and probably the latter were 1,700 strong in this, the last battle of the war. From the official records mentioned above I wish to quote partly from the reports of the Union colonels, Barrett and Branson.

Extract from the report of Colonel T. H. Barrett, 62d United States Troops:

HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIGADE, FIRST DIVISION
TWENTY-FIFTH ARMY CORPS,
CAMP (near) BROWNSVILLE, TEX., *August 10, 1865.*

General—I have the honor to submit the following report of the action at Palmetto Ranch, Tex., May 13, 1865, the last engagement of the war. * * * (The report is a long one, and as the first part relates only to the battle of the day before I omit, and simply quote that which relates to the last battle.) "Nearly the entire forenoon (May 13) was spent in skirmishing. The enemy, though taking advantage of every favorable position, was everywhere driven back. Early in the afternoon a sharp engagement took place, which, being in the chaparral, was attended with comparatively little

loss to us. In this engagement our forces charged the enemy, compelled him to abandon his cover, and pursuing him, drove him across an open prairie beyond the rising ground, completely out of sight. The enemy having been driven several miles since daylight, and our men needing rest, it was not deemed prudent to advance further. Therefore, relinquishing pursuit, we returned to a hill about a mile from Palmetto Ranch, where the 34th Indiana had already taken its position.

"About 4 P. M. the rebels, now largely reinforced, again reappeared in our front, opening fire upon us with both artillery and small arms. At the same time a heavy body of cavalry and a section of a battery, under cover of the thick chaparral on our right, had already succeeded in flanking us, with the evident intention of gaining our rear. With the Rio Grande on our left, a superior force of the enemy in front and his flanking force on our right our situation at this time was extremely critical. Having no artillery to oppose the enemy's six 12-pound pieces our position became untenable. We therefore fell back, fighting. This movement, always difficult, was doubly so at this time, having to be performed under a heavy fire from both front and flank.

"Forty-eight men of the 34th Indiana Veteran Volunteer Infantry, under Captain (A. M.) Templer, put out as skirmishers to cover their regiment, were, while stubbornly resisting the enemy, cut off and captured by the enemy's cavalry. The 62d United States Colored Infantry being ordered to cover our forces while falling back, over half of that regiment were deployed as skirmishers, the remainder acting as their support. This skirmish line was nearly three-fourths of a mile in length, and, reaching from the river bank, was so extended as to protect both our front and right flank. Every attempt of the enemy's cavalry to break this line was repulsed with loss to him, and the entire regiment fell back with precision and in perfect order, under circumstances that would have tested the discipline of the best troops. Seizing upon every advantageous position, the enemy's fire was returned deliberately and with effect. The fighting continued three hours. The last volley of the war, it is believed, was fired by the 62d United States Colored Infantry about sunset of the 13th of May, 1865, between White's ranch and the Boca Chica, Texas. Our entire loss in killed, wounded and captured was four officers and 111 men."

The colonel says above that the Confederates were "repulsed with

loss,'' and in another place that the Confederate fire was returned ''with effect.'' Colonel Ford and Captain Carrington say the victory was complete by the Confederates without the loss of a single man, which is undoubtedly true.

Extract from the report of Lieutenant-Colonel David Branson, 62d United States Colored Troops, battle May 13, 1865:

''*Headquarters of 62d Regiment, United States Colored Infantry, Brazos Santiago, Texas, May 18, 1865.*—By order of Colonel Barrett fell back one and a half miles to a bluff on the river, about twelve miles from Coca Chica, to get dinner and rest for the night. Here, at 4 P. M., a large force of the enemy's cavalry was observed endeavoring to gain our rear. I was ordered with the regiment to form line obliquely to the rear, faced toward them. As soon as formed, and while awaiting expected cavalry charge, the enemy from a hill up the river (one and a half miles farther on) opened with artillery, doing no damage and creating no panic in my command, when I moved off, as ordered by Colonel Barrett, in retreat, furnishing 140 men for skirmishers, under Captains Miller and Coffin and Lieutenants Foster and Mead. They kept the enemy at a respectful distance at all times and did their duty in the best possible manner. Some temporary confusion was created by a portion of the 34th Indiana breaking through my regiment at double quick while I was marching in quick time, but order was immediately restored. The retreat was conducted by the right flank, for the reason that the nearest body of the enemy, 250 strong, with two pieces of artillery, were evidently trying to gain our rear and a favorable opportunity to charge, which was each time prevented by halting my command and coming to a front, thus facing him with the river at our backs. The force engaged with our skirmishers up the river was not immediately feared by our battalion, being so much farther distant, and their fire, both of artillery and cavalry, very inaccurate. Owing to this same flanking force of the enemy our skirmish line could not be relieved without exposing the men and our colors to capture while rallying.

''Our losses of ordnance, seven Enfield rifles and accoutrements; of camp and garrison equipage, light. Casualties: two men missing, supposed to be in the hands of the enemy. Five men wounded. * * * The entire operation demonstrated the fact that the negro soldiers can march.''

The above report evidently proves the fact that the main object of

this regiment was to retreat, and Captain Carrington states in his report that the reason so few negroes were captured was that "they outran our cavalry horses," and as Branson shows by the above report that the 34th Indiana were fleeter of foot than the negroes, the Indianians must have run like deer. The above reports I copy and cite where found, but as Colonel Ford's and Captain Carrington's reports are too long, will only mention the main facts; but can furnish the full reports to the *Veteran* if desired. They say in substance:

On the morning of the 13th a very small force was present in Brownsville.

There were not more than 300 men at and below that city of Confederates. Colonel John S. Ford, assuming command, moved down the river to the San Martin ranch. Arriving at about 3 P. M., he found Captain William Robinson, of D. C. Gidding's Regiment, in a heavy skirmish with J. W. Hancock's Company, of the 2d Texas, and a company of the 34th Indiana. A regiment of negro troops—62d United States—were also moving forward, perhaps to sustain skirmishers. Ford immediately made his dispositions. His right wing was under command of Captain Robinson. Cocke's and Wilson's Companies were ordered to attack the enemy's right flank; the artillery was directed to open fire at once, which was done with effect. Colonel Ford supported the movement in person, with two companies and two pieces of artillery.

The 62d United States Troops, Branson's Negro Regiment, was quickly demoralized, and fled in dismay. Captain Robinson led a charge and drove back the skirmish line of the 34th Indiana and Hancock's 2d Texas Company. The Indiana troops threw down their arms and surrendered; most of the Texans escaped, retreating through the dense chaparral. The entire Federal force were on the retreat, the fierce cavalry charges of the Confederates harassed them exceedingly, and the Confederate artillery moved at a gallop. Three times lines of skirmishers were thrown out to check the pursuit. These lines were roughly handled and many prisoners captured by the Confederates.

The Federals were driven for about eight miles into the Cobb ranch, which is about two miles from the fort at Boca Chica. The sun was about half an hour high. The enemy had commenced a double quick by the left flank across the slough, through which a levee had been thrown about 300 yards long. The slough was an

impassable quagmire for any character of troops, except the narrow levee. General Slaughter saw the movement of the enemy and ordered Captain Carrington, with Carter's Battery, to press the rear guard of the enemy and cut it off before it reached the levee, but the rear guard was too quick and passed in a hurry. Although Carrington's troopers were fresh and spurred their horses to their best running capacity, the enemy gained the levee when they were about 200 yards from the main body of the enemy, who had formed a line of battle at the further end of the levee among the sand hills.

Carrington immediately formed his troopers into line on the edge of the slough, then covered with tide water. While doing this he saw General Slaughter dash forward into the water in front and empty his six-shooter at the retreating foe. The Federal line formed on the other side of the slough was 300 yards off from the Confederate troopers. A heavy skirmish fire was kept up for nearly an hour across the slough. The enemy, though in full view, shot too high. They were five or six times as numerous as the Confederates, and were composed of veteran troops and commanded by experienced officers. As the sun went down the fire slackened and the enemy began to retreat toward Boca Chica, a shell from the United States war ship *Isabella* exploded between the Confederates and the retreating force of the enemy. A seventeen-year-old trooper of Carter's battery blazed away in the direction of the exploded shell with his Enfield rifle, using a very profane expletive for so small a boy, causing a hearty laugh from a half score of his comrades. The firing ceased. The last gun had been fired.

Colonel Barrett claims the last volley of the war was fired by the 62d United States colored troops. The United States war ship *Isabella*, very likely, fired the last shell, but it was a Texan, on Texas soil, of Carter's battery, that fired the last gun. The last battle of the war was a victory for the Confederates, and it will go down in history as such.

Captain Carrington was ordered by Colonel Ford to occupy the battlefield, gather up arms and bury the dead. While engaged in this it was reported that a body of Federals was in the bend of the river near the old Palmetto Ranch. Captain Carrington ordered Sergeant R. S. Caperton to deploy a squad of mounted men and drive out the enemy. In obeying this order the sergeant and his men captured First Lieutenant James W. Hancock, Second Lieutenant Thomas A. James, Hancock's brother and about twenty of Han-

cock's Texans, but not a gun was fired, though several attempted to escape capture by trying to swim the river, and were drowned.

While it was General Slaughter's command that won the last battle of the war, yet to Colonel Ford is due the honor of precipitating the battle and gaining the victory, and inflicting a heavy loss upon the enemy, who outnumbered his troops more than five to one, without the loss of a man. General Slaughter was detained in Brownsville until late in the day of the 18th, but Colonel Ford, called by his soldiers "Old Rip," was all day in the thickest of the fight, and early in the morning, while rifle balls were whistling around, he addressed his men about as follows: "Men, we have whipped the enemy in all our previous fights. We can do it again." The men shouted, "Hurrah for Old Rip!" As the hurrahs ceased he gave the order, "Forward! Charge!" The response was a Texan yell, and a charge which no infantry line ever formed on the Rio Grande could withstand. The reason why so few negroes were captured in the last fight of the war was because they outran our cavalry horses.

Hancock's company and the Indiana troops several times saved the negroes. These veteran troops attempted to withstand the charges that Colonel Ford and his Confederates hurled against them, but Branson's negro troops ran, and ran well, as the report of their commander proves. The writer has seen Colonel Ford and several old Confederates who live in this county, who were in this fight, and the writer has often talked with them on the subject. That this was the last fight of the war, and almost one month after Comrade Slater's West Point fight, I think I have proven.

It was a victory for the Confederates, and will go down in history as such.

LUTHER CONYER.

San Diego, Texas, November 30, 1896.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, Feb. 10, 1895.]

WESTERN CAMPAIGN.

Movements of the Goochland Light Artillery—Captain John H. Guy.

A VIRGINIAN'S EXPERIENCE,

Battle of February 15, 1862, and Its Many Remarkable and Exciting Incidents—Surrender of Fort Donelson.

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

On the 26th of December, 1861, in obedience to orders, Captain John H. Guy's Battery, the Goochland Light Artillery, left Dublin Depot, Pulaski county, Va., on the Virginia and Tennessee railroad, for General Albert Sidney Johnston's army, in Kentucky. After much delay we reached Bowling Green, January 6, 1862, and pitched our tents about two miles west of that city. General Floyd's Brigade remained in camp nearly three weeks in daily expectation of an engagement with the enemy. However, no battle came off. It was reported that General Johnston's army, in the vicinity of Bowling Green, exceeded 60,000 men. This report was without foundation, as was demonstrated by subsequent information.

The latter part of January, 1862, General Johnston's command was ordered to other sections of country; the most of his army was sent to Shiloh, Miss.; General Floyd's Brigade to Russellville, Ky. My battery encamped here about ten days. Several of us were temporarily indisposed, probably for one week, and were quartered in an old church. During the time of our indisposition, a number of ladies of this little town called on us, and were very hospitable to us. Among the number I remember the names of Mrs. Caldwell and Mrs. Mason, whose kind attention to us was highly appreciated.

One of my battery—"Jack" Brooks—died here of typhoid fever, and another one—Charles Palmore—died at Bowling Green, I think, of congestion of the lungs; Captain Patterson, of the 56th Virginia Regiment, of my brigade, also died in Russellville, Ky.

From Russellville, Ky., General Floyd's Brigade was sent to Fort Donelson, Tennessee. My battery proceeded to Clarksville, Ten-

nessee, from which point we could occasionally hear the reports of heavy artillery in the direction of Donelson, like muttering thunder in the distance. We remained here a day or two, and then marched to Cumberland City, a small boat-landing on the river, from where we were conveyed by a steamer to Fort Donelson, leaving all our baggage behind, which we never saw again. We reached our destination Thursday evening, February 13, 1862.

ANNOYED BY SHELLS.

Upon our arrival at the wharf, opposite a little village, Dover, situated on a hill, interspersed with small trees and everlooking the river, about six hundred yards east of the fort, the enemy annoyed us considerably at short intervals by shelling our steamer. The quarters were made rather uncomfortable for us. Occasionally a shell would explode before reaching the wharf, in the road, or the main street that leads up into the village, which caused some excitement and solicitude for a brief while. Only a few casualties, however, resulted. The enemy's position from where our steamer was being shelled was probably two miles and a half distant. Fragments of shell flew promiscuously about the steamer, though doing no material damage. While on the steamer I saw a piece of shell strike a pile of wood near the engine, scattering it in various directions. The engineer was knocked down, and escaped with slight injury. I was also struck on my chest with splintered wood, but was not injured.

As soon as practicable we disembarked our cannon, &c., at once proceeded up the street, through the village, and filed to the right of our army, where we remained temporarily. As it was late in the evening, we did not obtain a position for our battery. Just as soon as the shadow of darkness came on we moved a short distance to the left and encamped that night in a ravine.

The weather was very severe. It was raining, snowing, and freezing, accompanied by a sharp wind. With considerable difficulty we succeeded in procuring some fuel to make fires to keep from freezing.

We had no tents, and suffered intensely from exposure and want of adequate rations. We had to make fires to warm ourselves, occasionally, in ravines and places where the enemy could not observe the light from our fires. I understood that a number of soldiers froze to death in the breastworks. This condition confronted us while at Donelson.

About 4 o'clock the next morning the battery was ordered on the left of the army. Owing to the proximity of the enemy this movement had to be executed with caution and as quietly as possible. Although the undertaking was one fraught with difficulty and danger, yet we succeeded in obtaining a position about the dawn of day, and hastily threw up light earthworks, which was very difficult to do in consequence of the frozen condition of the ground. During the day several of General Forest's men, with improved firearms, came near our battery and at once communicated with those fellows, who could be seen in trees, by means of leaden messengers, informing them that the position they occupied was totally at variance with our wishes. They soon took in the situation. Some descended with involuntary celerity, while others retired more hastily than they ascended.

DESPERATE BATTLE.

On the evening of the 14th of February, 1862, the enemy's gunboats made a desperate and powerful attack on Fort Donelson. The cannonading was terrific and incessant for several hours. Finally they were repulsed, sustaining great damage and loss of life. During the bombardment solid shot from the gunboats often passed over and beyond our troops on the right, falling between the respective armies.

Early Saturday morning, February 15, 1862, General Floyd's Brigade was ordered to assault the enemy on his right line of defence. This order was rather unexpected. Breakfast was being prepared at the time, and there was much confusion in camp. The battle soon began, and the rattle of musketry and boom of cannon continued until about 1 o'clock P. M. The enemy had superior numbers, and was frequently reinforced during the fight. The Confederates were continuously engaged in the battle without relief or reinforcement, yet, under the disadvantages the enemy was driven back probably two miles, sustaining considerable loss, and the Confederates occupied his position. It may be mentioned that General Grant's headquarters tent was captured in this engagement with contents. This was a hard fought battle, every foot of ground being stubbornly contested.

It was the intention of General Floyd to pursue the enemy. A gun from my battery, with my detachment, and other troops, was ordered in pursuit. After proceeding a short distance this order was countermanded, and we returned to our original position. The reason for this was, that in view of information received, the enemy having been heavily reinforced, the undertaking would have been

hazardous, probably involving a great sacrifice on our part. It may not be inappropriate to mention an incident which occurred about 10 o'clock that morning.

BUCKNER RALLIED THEM.

During the battle a regiment of Confederate infantry wavered, but General S. B. Buckner soon rallied them. This happened about thirty paces to the left of my battery. The general's remarks on the occasion made an impression on those who heard him, and if I remember correctly, he said, "Mississippians, look at those Virginians driving the enemy from our soil. Is it possible that you are going to leave them to do the fighting? No, never; your general will lead you," and he gallantly led them into action.

Not many years ago I happened to meet General Buckner at the White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., and mentioned the foregoing to him. He remembered it well. Upon being asked what regiment it was he rallied on the occasion referred to, he replied the 14th Mississippi.

REGAINED THE GUN.

Another incident happened that morning which may not be amiss to relate, though rather of a personal character. About 300 yards to the right of my battery, in an open field on a ridge, a section of artillery was actively engaged with the enemy's, when one of the cannoneers was instantly killed and others seriously wounded by a shot from the enemy's guns. The remainder of the detachment retired from their gun to the rear of the ridge, where a regiment of infantry was held in reserve. General Pillow, observing what had transpired, came up hurriedly to a detachment of my battery and inquired of us "where we were from." He was informed that we were from Virginia. He then said, "Will you follow me?" We replied that were not afraid to follow him anywere. He said, "Come on," and we followed him in double-quick time across the open field. The bullets flew thick and fast about us. I expected every moment to be either killed or wounded. We, however, in a brief time succeeded in reaching the deserted gun. General Pillow at once directed the cannon himself, and a few shots from us soon disabled the enemy's piece of artillery. This was "a consummation devoutly wished for."

NUMBERS ENGAGED.

In view of the fact that the enemy had been heavily reinforced

that evening, the Confederates, being much exhausted from continuous fighting and want of rest, were compelled to fall back to the position they formerly occupied. Consequently the Federals regained the position they occupied that morning, late in the evening.

According to the report that evening the Federals had upwards of 40,000 men on the field, while the Confederate army did not exceed 13,000 available men. This statement was made in my presence by Generals Floyd and Pillow, on the steamer from Fort Donelson, to Nashville, Tennessee, February 16, 1862.

Hostilities on our left had ceased, with the exception of occasional picket-firing, but late in the evening the enemy made repeated and vigorous assaults upon the right of the Confederate line of works. The fight was a desperate one and continued until darkness caused a cessation of hostilities. The enemy had gained some advantage. The Confederates lost part of their works near the fort.

"GREEK MEETS GREEK."

I was informed that evening during the battle, that two Kentucky regiments of infantry (both Second Kentucky), one Confederate and the other Federal, charged bayonets on each other. The conflict was desperate, neither gained any decided advantage over the other, though the loss on both sides was considerable. "When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war." Strange as it may seem, it is said that these two regiments were commanded by brothers—Colonels Hanson. I mention the above incident because I think it worthy of remark, as similar instances were not of frequent occurrence during the late war.

CAPITULATION.

That night a council of war was held by Generals Floyd, Pillow, and Buckner. This was, indeed, a critical condition of affairs. Owing to the peculiar situation of our army and the disparity of numbers, the enemy having more than three men to our one, it was deemed prudent to capitulate. Accordingly, General S. B. Buckner was selected to perform that duty, and he surrendered Fort Donelson to General U. S. Grant on the morning of the 16th of February, 1862. About 9,000 Confederates were made prisoners on that memorable occasion. It may be proper to state that early in the morning before the surrender took place a large number of our soldiers were conveyed across the river and landed on the Tennessee side by a steamer and escaped being captured, and those captured were con-

veyed to Johnson's Island and Camp Douglass, Ill. After remaining in prison nearly one year a large number of them were exchanged. The capture of Fort Donelson was one of General Grant's first important victories.

Not knowing what had transpired during the night, while a comrade and myself were sleeping comfortably on a bank of snow, laying upon nine or ten heavy blankets, and covered by an equal number, which we captured the preceding day on the battle-field, we were quietly aroused at daybreak by our captain, John H. Guy, who said to us that "we must get to the wharf at once; if we did not we would be left." Neither of us had the remotest conception that a surrender was about to take place.

GETTING AWAY.

We arose from our quiet place of repose and packed our knapsacks. Upon looking around we failed to see any of our troops. The works had been abandoned. The condition of affairs was not comprehended by us. We, however, proceeded to the wharf, as directed, which was nearly two miles distant. The strange situation of our troops was discussed. Upon our arrival at the wharf we found assembled a large number of our soldiers, many of whom were much excited. I then saw a steamer of considerable dimensions landing some of our troops on the Tennessee side. I was ignorant of the cause of the peculiar proceedings going on at that time. I did not understand them; but very soon I fully comprehended the true condition of affairs and gravity of the situation, especially when I saw various kinds of provisions and munitions of war being thrown into the river, and I determined not to be captured, if there was any possible means of escape. The steamer *General Anderson* was just returning for another load of soldiers, and my only hope of escape was on the steamer. I anxiously awaited its return, but, instead of coming near me, as I expected, it stopped about 100 yards above where I was standing. Several thousand soldiers had now congregated at the wharf, and the possibility of my escape seemed very improbable. To force my way through this immense body of men was impossible. This was a predicament, indeed, delay was dangerous. I at once resolved, if possible, to get on board of that steamer. The only chance was for me to wade the surging Cumberland river for same distance. Whether justifiable or not, I had a horrid conception of being captured and subjected to the horrors of a prison pen. I proceeded to make my way in the

direction of the steamer, keeping as near as possible to the bank of the river, though up to my waist in mud and water, and coming in contact with melting snow and ice the most of the time. After no little perseverance I succeeded in accomplishing my object, though before reaching the steamer I was nearly over my shoulders in the water, very cold, and much exhausted. On board of the steamer there happened to be a barrel of whiskey, which had been bayoneted by soldiers. I needed a stimulant, and at once procured some in a tin cup and drank it, then took a position by the engine and warmed and dried myself as thoroughly as possible.

The members of my battery also came off on this steamer, one of whom, Private Perkins, was pulled out of the water into the steamer by a colored man.

The commotion among our soldiers at this time was very great, many of them were frantic with excitement, and attempted to get on board of the steamer, though failed to accomplish their object.

GUNBOATS.

General Floyd stood on the deck of the steamer with his sabre drawn, exclaiming, "Come on, my brave Virginia boys." The steamer was soon filled to its utmost capacity. Just as the steamer moved from the landing General Floyd received information that the enemy's gunboats were in sight, coming up the river. The engineer of the steamer was ordered to put on full head of steam and proceed up the river as speedily as possible. Thus Generals Floyd and Pillow made their escape from Fort Donelson and reached Nashville the next morning.

The most of the 56th Virginia Infantry came off on this steamer. Lieutenant Thomas, of Company F, later captain, now Sergeant of the Police Court, Richmond, Va., is one of the survivors of the old 56th Virginia Regiment.

General Forrest, with his cavalry, succeeded in cutting their way out, and arrived at Nashville in a day or two. A member of my battery, W. M. Sharp, came off with his command.

There was much interest and some excitement manifested by the people of Nashville in consequence of the fall of Fort Donelson. Hopes were entertained by many of the citizens that their city would be defended and not evacuated, and it was reported for several days that the Confederates would fortify Nashville, and not fall back further; but this idea, if ever contemplated, was abandoned.

BACK TO VIRGINIA.

After remaining in this city nearly one week, orders were received for General Floyd and remainder of his command to proceed to Virginia. The troops soon boarded the cars, and were conveyed to Murfreesboro'. Near Murfreesboro', on the macadamized road, we (four of my battery) were fortunate enough to find two of our company's baggage-wagons. The baggage had been destroyed at Dover, Tenn. One of these wagons was loaded with coffee, and the other with some provisions brought from Nashville, which were subsequently turned over to the commissary at Norristown, Tenn. We were pleased to meet four members of our battery, who were left in charge of these wagons. During our travel through Tennessee, the people were very hospitable to us. We marched from there to Chattanooga, and encamped about one week at the base of Lookout Mountain. We then took the cars to Knoxville, and remained here a week, and then marched across the Cumberland mountains to Morristown, Tenn., thence by rail to Virginia, and arrived in Abingdon, Va., the latter part of March, 1862.

Upon our arrival in Abingdon we were much surprised on being informed that General Floyd had been relieved of his command by President Davis, and Colonel Stuart, of the Fifty-sixth Virginia Regiment, was commandant of the post.

The command of General Floyd was soon ordered to the Army of Northern Virginia. Subsequently General Floyd commanded State troops in Southwest Virginia.

My company having been captured at Fort Donelson, and not having any command to report to, I was tendered a position by the medical director of my brigade in his department, which I accepted, and held for some time. Finally, my company was exchanged, and I rejoined it at Chaffin's Bluff, about ten miles below Richmond, Va.

THOMAS J. RIDDELL, M. D.,

Private in Goochland Artillery, Floyd's Brigade, late C. S. A., Richmond, Va.

[From the Daily Charlotte (N. C.) *Observer*, Feb. 17, 1895.]

TWENTY-EIGHTH NORTH CAROLINA INFANTRY.

GENERAL J. H. LANE WRITES ITS HISTORY.

Another of the Historical War Sketches Prepared at the Instance of Judge Clark—A Record Of Glory and Honor.

At the request of Judge Walter Clark, General James H. Lane, of Auburn, Alabama, has prepared a sketch of his old regiment, the Twenty-eighth North Carolina. A copy of it is sent to the *Observer* and is herewith published. In a private letter to the editor General Lane says of his work:

"My old regiment has a splendid record and I do not feel equal to such a theme. I have done my best in the way of a chronological summary of its brilliant achievements. My object in interspersing it freely with unpublished reminiscences—personal incidents of my own knowledge—is to make it more interesting to the general reader. It required both time and labor to get up the sketch, and yet it has been a great pleasure to me to do it."

The Twenty-eighth North Carolina Regiment had the following field and staff officers during the war:

Colonels: James H. Lane, Samuel D. Lowe.

Lieutenant-Colonels: Thomas L. Lowe, Samuel D. Lowe, William D. Barringer, William H. A. Speer.

Majors: Richard E. Reeves, Samuel D. Lowe, William J. Montgomery, William D. Barringer, William H. A. Speer, Samuel N. Stowe.

Adjutants: Duncan A. McRae, Romulus S. Folger.

Sergeant-majors: Milton A. Lowe, J. T. Lowe, W. R. Rankin.

Captains, A. Q. M.: George S. Thompson, Durant A. Parker.

Q. M. Sergeants: Edward Moore, J. C. Kelly, T. C. Lowe.

Captain, A. C. S.: Nicholas Gibbon.

Commissary sergeant: W. A. Mauney.

Surgeons: Robert Gibbon, W. W. Gaither.

Assistant surgeons: F. N. Luckey, R. G. Barham, Thomas B. Lane, M. L. Mayo.

Hospital stewards: John Abernathy, L. J. Barker.

Ordnance sergeant: Gabriel Johnston.

Chaplains: Oscar J. Brent, F. Milton Kennedy, D. S. Henkel.

This regiment, numbering about 900, was organized at High Point, North Carolina, September 21, 1861, as appears from the following communication:

CAMP FISHER, HIGH POINT, *September 21, 1861.*

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMES H. LANE:

Dear Sir—You were *unanimously* elected colonel of the 28th North Carolina Volunteers this evening. This regiment is composed of the following companies, enlisted for *twelve* months:

Company A, Surry county, Captain Reeves (major-elect).

Company B, Gaston county, Captain Edwards.

Company C, Catawba county, Captain Lowe (lieutenant-colonel-elect).

Company D, Stanly county, Captain Montgomery.

Company E, Montgomery county, Captain Barringer.

Company F, Yadkin county, Captain Kinyoun.

Company G, Orange county, Captain Martin.

Company H, Cleveland county, Captain Wright.

Company I, Yadkin county, Captain Speer.

Company K, Stanly county, Captain Moody.

You will see that most of us are "mountain boys," and we trust that we do not disgrace the home from which we come. It would afford us great pleasure and satisfaction to have for our leader an officer so well and so favorably known for bravery, courtesy, and professional attainments as Lieutenant-Colonel Lane, of the gallant "Bethel" Regiment. Permit us to express our personal hope that we may receive a *favorable* reply as soon as possible, and to subscribe ourselves,

Your obedient servants,

S. N. STOWE, *Major Commanding Post,*
WILLIAM J. MONTGOMERY, *Captain Company D,*
G. B. JOHNSON, *First Lieutenant Company G,*
Committee in behalf of the 28th Regiment.

Immediately after organizing, the regiment was ordered to Wilmington, N. C., where it remained under General Joseph R. Anderson, commanding the "Cape Fear District," until the fall of Newbern. During its stay in that kind and hospitable town it performed post duty and guarded various bridges on the Wilmington

& Weldon Railroad. It was kept under rigid discipline; and that it was well drilled and properly cared for will appear from the following extracts from the Wilmington *Journal:*

"On a recent visit to the camp of the 28th Regiment we were pleased to see that a complete town of neat wooden tenements has taken the place of the canvass village of the latter part of the summer and fall, affording convenient and comfortable quarters with chimneys for the men, houses for the stores and other purposes. We found nearly all finished, with the exception of some of the officers' quarters, Colonel Lane's among the number, these being left to the last, as, being less crowded, the necessity was not so pressing. * * *

"Almost as we go to press the 28th moves down Second street, with steady tramp, the long line of their bayonets gleaming in the sun, and the firm bearing of the men indicative of determination and giving promise of gallant service when called upon. The drill and marching of the regiments are, to our feeble notions, as good as could be desired by regulars. If there is less of the pomp and circumstance of war with our plainly arrayed troops than with the fancy corps raised in northern cities, experience has shown that there is more of the pride that will stand and will not run unless it be forward. Colonel Lane may well be proud of his regiment."

On the 28th of October, 1861, the regiment numbered 970 all told.

It reached Newbern the 14th of March, 1862, just as the troops were withdrawing and it helped to cover their retreat. It fell back with them through mud and rain to Kinston, where it remained until it was ordered to Virginia. Soon after reaching Kinston it was assigned to the brigade commanded by General L. O'B. Branch. It at once renewed its work of reorganizing for the war which it had so gloriously begun in Wilmington, and completed the same the 12th of April, 1862. The following from a correspondent was published at the time in the Raleigh *Journal*:

"It is with no ordinary emotions of joy and pride that I inform you, and through your paper the public, that the Twenty-eighth North Carolina Regiment has 'reorganized for the war.' Six companies reorganized before we left Wilmington. Last week the four remaining companies reorganized, and on Saturday we had an election for field officers, when Colonel Lane and Lieutenant-Colonel Lowe were elected to their former positions by acclamation. For major we had some warm balloting. Several were nominated. After

several ballotings, Captain Samuel D. Lowe was elected. I noticed that the captains were very popular with the first lieutenants. Perhaps the recent laws of succession in office had some influence.

"It makes us very proud to know that we are the first North Carolina Regiment to reorganize. The regiment is very large, now numbering 1,250 men.

"Considering that our original term of service would not have expired till the 21st of September, and being the first North Carolina Regiment to re-enlist and reorganize, we think *very modestly*, that we are entitled to some favors. We have no rifle companies. We would be glad to have two, though we are not disposed to grumble, and will cheerfully do the best we can.

"We are now realizing the privations and hardships of camp life. We often think of our comfortable quarters and the kind-hearted people of Wilmington. Some of the fair ones of Wilmington, I suspect, are remembered with more than *ordinary* feelings of friendship.

"We see nothing, hear nothing and know nothing here but to obey orders. A man has to be very patriotic, on good terms with his fellow soldiers, and on prodigiously good terms with himself, to see much enjoyment here; but so long as our country needs our services, we will be contented in her service wherever it may be."

This regiment, numbering 1,199 for duty, was ordered to Virginia May 2, 1862. It was armed with old smooth-bore muskets from the Fayetteville arsenal, badly altered from flint to percussion. It soon threw them away and supplied itself with more serviceable and more modern weapons gathered on the bloody battlefield in that grand old State.

On reaching Virginia it was ordered at once to Gordonsville. It remained there at Rapidan Station doing picket duty only for a short time. With the rest of the brigade it was next ordered to join Jackson in the Valley; but on reaching the foot of the Blue Ridge, it was ordered back to Hanover Courthouse. On the 26th of May it was marched through mud and rain to "Slash Church." At that time the regiment had in it "many recruits just recovering from the diseases incident to the commencement of camp life." Latham's Battery reported to General Branch from North Carolina the evening before the brigade left Hanover Courthouse "with only half enough men for the efficient service of the guns and with horses entirely untrained."

On Tuesday morning, the 27th of May, General Branch ordered the 28th Regiment and a section of Latham's Battery, under Lieutenant J. R. Potts, to Taliaferro's Mill to capture, if possible, a reported marauding party. No one was found at the mill, and as the enemy were reported advancing on the "Old Church" road, it promptly retraced its steps, marching left in front, with flankers, and an advance guard was thrown out. On reaching the pine thicket in front of Dr. Kinney's, on the direct road to Richmond, a squad of Federals stepped into the Taliaferro Mill road, in front of the command. The colonel suspecting an ambush, halted his regiment, faced it by the rear rank, and wheeled it to the right into the thicket. It handsomely cleaned the thicket of the enemy. On reaching the road in front of Dr. Kinney's it charged with rebel yells the 25th New York Regiment, concealed in Kinney's field of standing wheat, and almost annihilated it in front of Martindale's Brigade, drawn up in line of battle and strongly supported by artillery. It was not known then that the regiment had been cut off by an overwhelming force of infantry, artillery and cavalry, under General Fitz John Porter. It was withdrawn and reformed in the open field on the Hanover Courthouse side of Kinney's dwelling. Potts' artillery was also ordered into position, and never were two guns served more handsomely. The unequal contest was kept up for over four hours, inflicting greater damage than was sustained; and when it was found that the enemy was flanking the regiment in both directions, it was withdrawn in good order to Hanover Courthouse. On reaching St. Paul's Church, beyond the courthouse, where the road forks, and finding the enemy's batteries in position and the road to Ashland in their possession, it was ordered to take the fork to Taylorsville under a shelling. Knowing the cavalry was pursuing in force, it was thrown from the road to the field to take advantage of the cross-fences. On reaching a thin strip of woods beyond the railroad, it was ordered back into the road, and directed to move as rapidly as possible to Taylorsville, while Potts unlimbered his Parrott gun in the middle of the road. The other gun had been abandoned at Kinney's, as the horses had been killed or badly wounded. This bold piece of strategy on the part of the colonel and the lieutenant of artillery intimidated the enemy's cavalry, caused them to form line of battle on the other side of the railroad, and enabled the 28th Regiment to make its escape. Already exhausted from exposure to inclement weather, from hunger, from fighting and marching, it was three days before the regiment, by a circuitous route, rejoined the

brigade on the right bank of the Chickahominy, where it was wildly and joyfully received. It was highly complimented by Generals Lee and Branch for its splendid behavior in this masterly retreat. The former was heard to remark that it was a wonder to him the whole command had not been killed or captured.

Company G, which was cut off from the regiment at Kinney's, can never forget how their brave, but frail and delicate young captain, George B. Johnston, afterward the accomplished adjutant-general of the brigade, swam the river to escape the enemy, and then swam back rather than appear to have deserted his men; how he marched as a prisoner of war from Kinney's farm to West Point in his wet clothes; how he was confined on Johnson's Island; how he read the Episcopal service regularly to his fellow-prisoners there; how he endeared himself to all in his captivity; how he was joyfully welcomed back to camp; and how, a physical wreck, he was soon forced to return home to die. A nobler, braver, purer Christian hero never lived.

From this battle at Kinney's farm, or Hanover Courthouse, as it is generally called, to the surrender at Appomattox Courthouse, the history of the brigade is the history of the regiment. It bore on its battle-flag the name of every battle in which the brigade participated.

Before the fights around Richmond, Branch's Brigade was assigned to General A. P. Hill, and became a part of the famous "Light Division." The 28th Regiment was with its brigade when it was the first, in those seven days' fights, to cross the Chicahominy at "Half Link," and clear the way for the crossing of the rest of the "Light Division" at "Meadow Bridge." When it reached Mechanicsville, on the 26th of June, it was ordered to support a battery on the left of the road. Next morning it was subjected to a short but severe artillery fire. On reaching Cold Harbor, on the 27th, it and the 7th North Carolina were ordered to the left of the road, where it behaved very handsomely, its own colonel being wounded on the head, and Colonel Campbell, of the 7th, killed with the colors of his regiment in his hands. At Frazier's Farm, on the 30th, it was on the right of the 37th North Carolina Regiment. After driving the enemy's infantry, it and the 37th gallantly charged the artillery in their front, when its colonel was shot in the face, and Colonel Lee, of the 37th, was killed. It was not actively engaged at Malvern Hill on the 1st of July. It was, however, ordered forward in the afternoon to support the forces engaged, and was under a very heavy artillery fire until some time after dark. It carried 480 into

those bloody fights and sustained a loss of twelve killed and 146 wounded.

It encamped below the city of Richmond for a short time and was then ordered, July 29th, to Gordonsville, near which place it remained until just before the battle of Cedar Run, August 9th, in which it bore a very conspicuous part. Many of the men wiped their guns out as they advanced under the hottest fire; and when infantry and cavalry had been repulsed, and General Jackson appeared on the field in its front, the men wildly cheered him and called to him to let them know what he wished done and they would do it. The loss in this fight was three killed and twenty-six wounded.

In this battle, after the enemy had been repulsed and the regiment had crossed the road to connect with General Taliaferro's command, the colonel chided a member of Company F for falling out of ranks. When the soldier replied that he was no coward but was exhausted and could go no further, the colonel took off his canteen, handed it to him, and told him to take a "stiff drink" and rejoin his company. Not long after, as the colonel was passing down the line, complimenting his men for their gallantry, that brave fellow stepped out of ranks, saluted and said: "Colonel, here I am. I tell you what, that drink you gave me just now has set me up again, and I feel as though I could whip a whole regiment of Yankees." Everybody was in a good humor, and of course everybody laughed.

At the shelling across the Rappahannock on the 24th of August, the 28th was sent to the support of Braxton's and Davidson's Batteries, and a part of the regiment was thrown forward with instructions to prevent, if possible, the destruction of the bridge across the river near Warrenton White Sulphur Springs.

The most laughable fight was at Manassas Junction, August 27th, when Jackson got in Pope's rear, and the brigade chased Taylor's New Jersey command into the swamps of Bull Run. One of the 28th was very much astonished, after jumping over a bush from the railroad embankment, to find that he had also jumped over a Yankee crouched beneath. Another was still more astonished when he got on all-fours to take a drink of water, to find that a fellow had sought safety in the culvert. He was an Irishman, and after he had crawled from his hiding-place, he created an uproar by slapping the Tar Heel on the shoulder and remarking: "You got us badly this time. Come, let's take a drink." Both of them "smiled" out of the same canteen.

At Manassas Plains, on the 28th of August, this regiment was

under a heavy artillery fire while supporting a battery. On the 29th it fought with great coolness, steadiness and desperation on the extreme left of Jackson's line. It was subjected to a heavy artillery fire the next day, the 30th, and there was heavy skirmishing in its front until late in the afternoon. Its loss was five killed and forty-five wounded.

The battle of Ox Hill, near Fairfax Courthouse, was fought September 1, 1862, in a pouring rain. The Twenty-eighth was on the left of the brigade and fought splendidly, though many of its guns fired badly on account of the moisture. It was here that General Branch, when he made known the fact that he was nearly out of ammunition, was ordered "to hold his position at the point of the bayonet." The Twenty-eighth, cold, wet and hungry, was ordered to do picket duty on the battlefield that night without fires.

This regiment was with the Army of Northern Virginia in its march into Maryland; and the first day after crossing the Potomac, September 5th, it feasted on nothing but green corn, browned on the ear before the fires made of the fences in the neighborhood. This was not the first time the regiment had indulged in such a repast.

On the 14th of September it was with the brigade when it climbed the cliffs of the Shenadoah at midnight, and lay concealed next morning on the left and rear of the enemy in their works on "Bolivar Heights," in front of Harper's Ferry, ready and eager for the order to assault, which order was never given as the enemy surrendered under the concentrated fire of the Confederate batteries.

It was in that memorable rapid march from Harper's Ferry to Sharpsburg. On reaching the right of the battlfield, the afternoon of the 17th of September, General A. P. Hill dashed up, and in person ordered it at a double-quick up the road to the left, leading to the town, to defend an unsupported battery, and drive back the enemy's skirmishers who were advancing through a field of corn.

Two days afterward, September 19th, it constituted a part of the rear guard of General Lee's army when he re-crossed the Potomac.

At Sheperdstown, on the 20th of September, when the Confederates could not use their artillery, it gallantly advanced "in the face of a storm of round shot, shell and grape," and gloriously helped to drive the enemy precipitately over the bank of the Potomac, where so many were killed attempting to cross the river at the dam above the ford.

Here the regiment was compelled to lay all day on the Virginia shore, and the enemy, from the opposite side of the river, fired

artillery at every individual soldier who dared expose himself. When Colonel Lane, then in command of the brigade, General Branch having been killed at Sharpsburg, called to a litter to know who had been wounded and received the reply: "Lieutenant Long, of your regiment," he approached and expressed the hope that the lieutenant was not seriously hurt. The latter replied: "I have been shot in the back; the ball has gone through me and I am mortally wounded." Taking his colonel's hand, he put it inside of his shirt on the slug which was under the skin of his breast, and added: "I am a young man. I entered the army because I thought it right, and I have tried to discharge all my duties." Then that young hero, with his colonel's hand still on that fatal slug, asked in a most touching tone: "Though I have been shot in the back, will you not bear record, when I am dead, that I was always a brave soldier under you?"

After this fight the regiment went into camp near Castleman's Ferry, or Snicker's Gap, in Clarke county, Va., where it remained for some time, doing picket duty in snow-storms and freezing weather. It subsequently camped near Winchester, where it remained until Jackson's Corps moved to Fredericksburg, November 22d. There it remained but a short time, and then took part in the great battle near that town, December 13, 1862. It held an advanced, open, unfortified position on the railroad, and fought with great coolness and gallantry, using all of its ammunition, including that from the boxes of its dead and badly wounded. All this, when the right flank of the brigade had been turned by a large force of the enemy going through that unfortunate opening and catching the intended support for the brigade with its arms stacked. After handsomely repulsing two lines of battle in its front, it was forced to retire before the third. Its loss was sixteen killed and forty-nine wounded.

In this fight, Private Martin, of Company C, coolly sat on the track and called to his comrades to watch the Yankee colors, then fired and down they went. This was done repeatedly. Captain Lovell, of Company A, the right company of the regiment, stood on the track all the time, waving his hat and cheering his men, and strange to say, neither he nor Martin was struck.

After the battle, when Captain Holland, of Company H, congratulated General Lane on his escape, he added: "And I am indebted to a biscuit for my own life." Running his hand into his haversack, he drew forth a camp buscuit about the size of a saucer, cooked without salt or "shortening" of any kind, and looking like horn

when sliced—something that an ostritch could not digest—and there was a Yankee bullet only *half* imbedded in that wonderful biscuit.

It was here that First Lieutenant W. W. Cloninger, of Company B, as he lay at the field hopital, called Abernathy to him and asked why he had been neglected so long. When told that he was mortally wounded, and the surgeons considered it their first duty to attend to those whose lives might be saved, he replied: "If I must die, I will let you all see that I can die like a man." Folding his arms across his breast, that hero, far away from his loved ones, lay under that tree in Yerby's yard, and without a murmur quietly awaited death.

At 6:30 o'clock on the morning of the 12th, when the brigade was ordered to its position on the railroad, it passed the refugees streaming to its rear from that old historic town. As delicate women with infants in their arms and helpless little children clinging to their mother's dresses, all thinly clad, went by, some of those brave and chivalrous North Carolinians called out: "Look at that, fellows. If that will not make a Southern man fight, what will?"

The regiment spent that winter at "Moss Neck," below Fredericksburg. There it did picket duty on the Rappahannock, and helped to corduroy the roads when they became impassable, sometimes having to clear away the snow to lay the logs.

In the spring of 1863, when the enemy renewed his demonstrations at Fredericksburg, it occupied the second line of works near Hamilton's Crossing.

In the battle of Chancellorsville it accompanied Jackson in his flank movement, and on the night of the 2d of May it was on the left of Lane's brigade when formed for the night attack. After Jackson was wounded and the night attack abandoned, it was withdrawn from the left of the plank road, and placed on the extreme right of the brigade, with its own right resting on a country road leading from the plank road to a place called "Hazel Grove." About midnight, General Sickles, with two strong lines of battle, made his much lauded attack, and was repulsed by the Twenty-eighth and Eighteenth, and a part of the Thirty-third North Carolina regiments, chiefly by the Twenty-eighth. A number of prisoners, including field and company officers, were captured. Company E, of the Twenty-eighth, also captured the colors of the Third Maine Regiment.

Early next morning the Twenty-eighth, with the rest of the brigade, made a direct assault on the enemy's works and carried them, but could not hold them, as the brigade's support had broken in its

rear, and it was attacked by fresh troops before General Ramseur could come to its assistance. It subsequently joined in the charge which drove the enemy from "Fairview" and the "Chancellorsville House," where it was much amused at that great cavalier, General Stuart, singing, "Old Joe Hooker, Get Out the Wilderness," while the battle was raging. Its loss was twelve officers, and seventy-seven men.

Later, having replenished itself with ammunition, it went to the support of General Colquitt, on the extreme left. There it witnessed the most harrowing scene of the war. The woods, already filled with sulphurous smoke, had been set on fire by the enemy's shells. The dropped rifles of the dead and wounded and the enemy's shells with imperfect fuses. exploded in every direction as the flames swept over them; the dead of both armies were being burnt to a crisp, and the helpless Federal wounded begged to be taken out of the line of the rapidly approaching and devouring fire. The brigade itself was forced to halt to let the flames sweep over the ground where it was ordered to form, and when it did form the ground was uncomfortably hot. That night it literally slept in ashes under those charred scrub oaks, and when it was ordered back next day, it afforded great amusement to its more fortunate comrades, for never was there seen in any army a dirtier and blacker set of brave men from the general down. As General Lane lay in the ashes that night a pretty little Yankee dog, branded "Co. K," persisted in making friends with him. In all the subsequent movements of the troops in Jackson's Corps that little dog kept his eye on the "Little General" and followed him back to camp where he became a great pet at brigade headquarters. He proved to be a splendid little fighter.

After this battle the regiment returned to "Camp Gregg" at "Moss Neck" below Fredericksburg, where it remained until the 5th of June, 1863.

Crossing the Potomac at Shepherdstown on the 25th of June, it reached Gettysburg the 1st of July. It behaved as it had always done in the first day's fight at that place, when Lane's Brigade was ordered from the centre of A. P. Hill's line to "the post of honor" on the right to protect that flank of the army from the enemy's cavalry while it fought his infantry in front.

On the 2d day of July it was under a heavy artillery fire several times during the day, and its skirmishers displayed great gallantry.

It took a very conspicuous part in the so-called Pickett's charge of the 3d of July. The brigade occupied the left of the imperfect

second line, and when Davis' Brigade was repulsed at Brockenbrough's, did not get beyond the position occupied by General Thomas, it moved handsomely forward with the rest of "Lane's brave fellows" who took the position of those two brigades on the extreme left of the first line. Though a column of infantry was thrown against its left flank and the whole line was exposed to a raking artillery fire from the right, it advanced in magnificent order, reserving its fire in obedience to orders, was the last command to leave the field, and it did so under orders. Its loss was twelve killed and ninety-two wounded.

On the 12th it formed line of battle near Hagerstown, Maryland, threw up breast-works and skirmished with the enemy until the night of the 13th. The retreat from Hagerstown through mud and rain was worse than that from Gettysburg, which was "awful." Some fell by the wayside from exhaustion, and the whole command was fast asleep as soon as halted for a rest about a mile from the pontoon bridge at "Falling Waters." On the morning of the 14th, Lane's brigade alone covered the crossing at "Falling Waters," and Captain Crowell, of the Twenty-eighth, commanded its skirmishers. After all the other troops were safely over the Potomac, the whole brigade retired in splendid order and the enemy opened with its artillery just as the bridge swung loose from the Virginia shore.

On returning from Pennsylvania the regiment camped for a short time at Culpeper Courthouse, and was then ordered to Orange Courthouse, where it did picket duty on the Rapidan at Morton's ford. It was next ordered to Liberty Mills as a support to the cavalry which was engaged at Jack's Shops. There it spent most of the winter doing picket duty on the Rapidan river and the Stanardsville road. Once during that winter it had a terrible march through sleet and snow to Madison Courthouse, trying to intercept some of the Federal cavalry raiders.

At Bristow Station, October 14th, this regiment was under fire but not actively engaged. There it helped to tear up the railroad, something at which it had become expert. As early as the middle of October, 1862, General Jackson complimented the brigade for the thorough manner in which it destroyed the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad at North Mountain Depot, where, beyond the cavalry pickets, it tore up about ten miles of the track; and the men amused themselves when the rails on the burning ties were red-hot by tieing "iron cravats" around the adjacent trees. The depot was not burned at that time because the wind would have endangered private property.

It remained in camp at Brandy Station until the enemy captured a large portion of the two brigades under General Early beyond the Rappahannock, on the 7th of November. When the corps formed line of battle near Culpeper Courthouse on the 8th of November, the regiment was with the brigade when it was ordered back on the Warrenton road, where it repulsed a cavalry charge with slight loss. After that it returned to its old and comfortable quarters at Liberty Mills.

When General Lee confronted Meade at Mine Run, November 27, 1863, the weather was intensely cold and the sufferings of the men were great. Not being allowed to have fires on the skirmish line, the men were relieved every half hour. The 28th was a part of the troops withdrawn from the trenches at 3 A. M. on the 2d of December and moved to the right to make an attack, but at daylight it was found that Meade had withdrawn.

Late in the afternoon of the 5th of May, 1864, the 28th went gallantly to the support of the hard-pressed troops in the Wilderness when Colonel Venable, of General Lee's staff, said to Colonel Palmer, of General A. P. Hill's: "Thank God! I will go back and tell General Lee that Lane has just gone in and will hold his ground until other troops arrive to-night." The brigade did more than hold its own; it drove the enemy some distance. The troops did not arrive that night as was expected, and next morning those brave men were compelled to retire before the overwhelming force of the enemy. The regiment lost four officers and eighty-four men.

The 28th also did its part nobly on the morning of the 12th of May, at Spotsylvania Courthouse, when Johnson's front was broken, and "Lane's North Carolina veterans turned the tide of Federal victory as it came surging to the right." It was also with the brigade the afternoon of the same day, when, under General Lee's orders and in his presence, it crossed the works in front of Spotsylvania Courthouse, and in that brilliant flank movement handled Burnside's Corps so roughly and relieved Johnson's front. Its loss in these two engagements was five officers and 121 men.

On the afternoon of the 21st it moved to the right of the Courthouse, and made a reconnoissance, in which Lieutenant E. S. Edwards was killed and two men wounded.

At Jericho Ford, on the 23d of May, the 28th advanced as far as any of the troops engaged, held its ground until relieved that night, and removed all its dead and wounded. Its loss was two officers and twenty-eight men.

On the 31st of May, at Storr's farm, on Tottapottamoi creek, near Pole Green Church, it was engaged all day in heavy skirmishing and was under a terrible artillery fire.

At the Second Cold Harbor it behaved as gallantly as it did at the first. It also behaved with its accustomed bravery at Riddle's Shop, June 13th; action three miles southeast of Petersburg, June 22d; action in front of Petersburg, June 23d; Gravel Hill, July 28th; Fussell's Mills, August 16th and 18th; and Ream's Station, August 25th. In the last-named battle it had to crawl through an almost impenetrable abattis, under a heavy fire of musketry and artillery. Captain Holland, of Company H, was among the first to mount the works, and seeing that they were still manned and but few of his own men were up, he yelled out: "Yanks, if you know what is best for you, you had better make a blue streak toward sunset." They made the streak, and the men often laughed and said Grant would have to send Hancock back North to recruit his command. General Lee, in speaking of this fight to General Lane, said that the three North Carolina brigades, Cook's, McRea's and Lane's, which made the second assault, after the failure of the first by other troops, had, by their gallantry, not only placed North Carolina but the whole Confederacy under a debt of gratitude which could never be repaid. In writing to Governor Vance about the same battle, he said: "They advanced through a thick abattis of felled trees, under a heavy fire of musketry and artillery, and carried the enemy's works with a steady courage that elicited the warm commendation of the corps and division commanders and the admiration of the army."

At Jones' farm, on the right of Petersburg, on the 30th of September, this regiment was second to none in bravery. In this fight both lines were advancing when they met. To the delight of all, this battlefield was rich in oil cloths, blankets, knapsacks and the like. Some of the knapsacks, judging from the appearance of the straps, were cut from the shoulders of their owners in their hasty retreat under a murderous fire accompanied with that well known rebel yell.

Next morning the regiment advanced with the other troops and helped to drive the enemy from the works at the Pegram House, which were held in the rain until dark, when it returned to the works near the Jones House. It soon after went into winter quarters in rear of these works.

During that winter, the Twenty-eighth constituted a part of the force sent against the Federal cavalry raiding on the Petersburg &

Weldon Railroad. On that march it not only rained, but it snowed, and there was a high, bitter cold wind, and the men suffered intensely. The troops reached Jarratt's Station to find that the enemy had retired.

This regiment lay all night in the streets of Petersburg, as a part of the intended support for General Gordon, in his attack on Fort Stedman. After Gordon had retired, the enemy swept the whole Confederate picket line from Hatcher's Run, to Lieutenant Run, and it performed its part in helping to keep him out of the main line of works in front of its winter quarters. He got possession, however, of a commanding hill to the left of the Jones House from which he could fire into the huts. Next day, General Lee ordered General Lane to dislodge him. General Lane, who was in command of the division at the time, did so at daylight the following morning, with all of the sharpshooters of the division under Major Wooten, of the Eighteenth North Carolina Regiment, supported by his own brigade, and the Twenty-eighth again had its part to perform.

On the night of the 1st of April, when Grant made his final attack at Petersburg, Lane's Brigade was cut in two by an overwhelming force. The 28th was forced to fall back fighting to the plank road and then to the Cox road; and it finally succeeded in rejoining the rest of the brigade in the inner line of works, where it fought until night, when Petersburg was evacuated. On the afternoon of the 3d it crossed the Appomattox at Goode's Bridge, bivouacked at Amelia Courthouse on the 4th, and formed line of battle between the Courthouse and Jetersville on the 5th, and skirmished with the enemy. Next day while resting in Farmville, it, with the rest of the brigade, was ordered back to a hill to support the hard-pressed cavalry; but before reaching the hill the order was countermanded. It moved back through Farmville and sustained some loss from the enemy's artillery while crossing the river near that place. That afternoon it formed line of battle, faced to the rear, between one and two miles from Farmville, where there was more fighting, and the remnant of General Lee's army seemed to be surrounded. During the night it resumed its march, and on the morning of the 9th of April, while moving to its position on the left of the road near Appomattox Courthouse, it was ordered back into a woods and directed to stack arms, as the army of Northern Virginia had surrendered.

The tattered and starving remnants of this glorious North Carolina Regiment surrendered at Appomattox, consisted of seventeen

officers and 213 men, some of the latter being detailed, non-arms-bearing, sent back to be surrendered with their command.

The aggregate in this regiment during the entire war was 1,826. After Colonel Lowe resigned and Lieutenant-Colonel Speer was killed at Reames' Station, the regiment was frequently commanded by Captains E. F. Lovell and T. J. Linebarger.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, April 5, 1896.]

JENKINS' BRIGADE IN THE GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN.

Extracts from the Diary of Lieutenant Hermann Schuricht, of the Fourteenth Virginia Cavalry.

IDLEWILD (near) COBHAM, VA., *April 1, 1896.*

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

I see from various articles in the Richmond papers that the management of the cavalry in the Gettysburg campaign is being criticised; and, having participated in this campaign as an officer in General Jenkins' Cavalry Brigade, and being in possession of a "diary," in the German language, kept by me during those memorable days, I may be able to give some additional evidence assisting to establish the historical truth. To this end I take the liberty of sending you a translation from my "diary," pertaining to the movements of the cavalry from June 15, 1863 (the day we crossed the Potomac into Maryland and Pennsylvania), to July 14th (the day we recrossed the river to the Virginia side).

HERMANN SCHURICHT,
First Lieutenant of Company D, 14th Virginia Cavalry.

From Lieutenant Schuricht's Diary.

June 15, 1863.—Fatigued, but hopeful, and encouraged by the result of our glorious battle of yesterday, at Martinsburg, Virginia, we were called by the sound of the bugle to mount horses. As early as 2 o'clock in the morning we advanced towards the Potomac. We reconnoitered first to "Dam No. 5," and, returning to the road to Williamsport, Maryland, we rapidly moved to the river. Fording

the Potomac, we took possession of Williamsport, and were received very kindly by the inhabitants. Tables, with plenty of milk, bread, and meat, had been spread in the street, and we took a hasty breakfast. Soon after this we rode towards Hagerstown, Maryland, where we arrived at noon, and were enthusiastically welcomed by the ladies. They made us presents of flowers, and the children shouted, "Hurrah for Jeff. Davis!" The ladies entreated us not to advance into Pennsylvania, where we would be attacked by superior forces. However, we sped on, and when we came in sight of Greencastle, Pennsylvania, General Jenkins divided his brigade in two forces. My company belonged to the troops forming the right wing, and pistols and muskets in hand, traversing ditches and fences, we charged and took the town. The Federal cavalry escaped, and only one lieutenant was captured. After destroying the railroad depot, and cutting the telegraph wires, the brigade took up its advance to Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. No other Confederate cavalry force seems to co-operate with our brigade, numbering about 3,200 officers and men. Our vanguard had several skirmishes with the retreating enemy. On the road we found several partly burned wagons, which they had destroyed; and at 11 o'clock at night, we entered the city of Chambersburg, and on its eastern outskirts we went into camp.

June 16th.—Early in the morning our pickets were attacked by the Federals, but the enemy was repulsed, and we made some prisoners. A railroad bridge and telegraph connections were destroyed by our men. General Jenkins ordered the storekeepers to open their establishments, and we purchased what we needed, paying in Confederate money. The inhabitants had to provide rations for the troops and we fared very well, but their feelings toward us were very adverse. However, a number of them, belonging to the peace-party, treated us kindly, especially were the Germans in favor of peace. Many inhabitants had fled in haste from the city, but owing to the suddenness of our approach, clothes and household utensils were left scattered in the streets. I was ordered, with part of my company, to move this unprotected property safely into the houses of its probable owners. At 9 o'clock at night General Jenkins had his brigade alarmed, to see how soon the troops would be in readiness for action, and was much pleased with the result.

June 17th.—Early in the morning the citizens were ordered by the general to give up all weapons, and we received about 500 guns of all sorts, sabres, pistols, etc. The useful arms were loaded on wagons and the others were destroyed. About 11 o'clock news

reached headquarters of the advance of a strong Yankee force, and consequently we evacuated the city and fell back upon Hagerstown, Md.

June 18th.—My company on picket, and I am officer of the day. Nothing of the enemy.

June 19th.—The company was ordered to Waynesborough, Pa., to capture horses and cattle in the neighborhood for our army. A powerful thunder-storm surprised us at night, and we took refuge on a large farm. The proprietor was obliged to furnish us with rations for ourselves and our horses.

June 20th.—We succeeded in capturing a number of horses and some cattle. At noon we came to the farm of an old Pennsylvania German. He was scared to death at catching sight of us, and shouted "O mein Gott, die rebels!" I soon reassured him, telling him that no harm should result to him if he furnished us with a dinner and rations for our horses, and we were well cared for. A Federal cavalry regiment passed in sight of the place, fortunately not discovering our presence, and I concluded to march with my command to Lestersburg, Md., where the citizens furnished us with supper. We camped for the night in an open field, midway between Lestersburg and Hagerstown.

A DANGEROUS SECTION.

June 21st and 22d.—The 14th Virginia Cavalry Regiment readvanced towards Chambersburg, Pa., but Co. D, in charge of Captain Moorman and Major Bryan, of Rhodes' Division, was detailed to proceed to the South Mountain to capture horses, of which about 2,000 had been taken there by farmers and industrial establishments to hiding places. We again passed through Lestersburg and then entered on the mountain region. It proved to be a very dangerous section for cavalry movements. At 11 o'clock at night we came to Use's Iron-Works. Mr. Use, upon demand, furnished provisions, but as we discovered on the following days, secretly informed the farmers and troops of our approach.

June 23d.—At dawn we moved on by roads to Caledonia Iron Works, catching only twenty-six horses and twenty-two mules, the great bulk having been moved on upon Mr. Use's messages of warning. We obliged the overseer of the place to provide us with rations, and about 2 o'clock in the afternoon we advanced with forty of our men in pursuit of the Yankee guard and the horses in the

direction of Gettysburg. About two miles beyond the Caledonia Iron Works we discovered the road to be blockaded, just where it entered into dense woods. Major Bryan called the officers together for consultation, and an attack was resolved upon. I was ordered with nine men to approach the blockaded place and to clear it. I directed four men to approach the barricade to the right of the road, where they were protected by bushes, while I took the open field to the left with the others. There were about twenty-five men awaiting us, lying in ambush, but they disappeared in a hurry as we drew near. We quickly removed the obstructions, and as soon as the road was clear Captain Moorman charged, with twenty-five men, in pursuit of the Yankees. I followed him with my squad as soon as our horses were brought up. The Federal infantry took refuge behind a company of Union cavalry hiding in the woods, and the troopers turned their horses' heads when we rushed upon them. We were frequently fired upon in our pursuit, and one private, Amick, was mortally wounded. Major Bryan, recognizing the dangers of further advance, ordered us to break off the pursuit, and we slowly returned to the Caledonia Iron Works. Having passed the buildings we were again fired upon from ambush. This section of Pennsylvania seems to be full of "bushwhackers." At Greenwood we met our rear-guard, in charge of the captured horses, and required the citizens to feed men and animals. During the night we marched by way of Funkstown to Greencastle. Twice we came very close to strong cavalry detachments of the enemy, but escaped their attention.

June 24th.—We rejoined the regiment at Chambersburg.

June 25th.—Captain Moorman reporting sick, I took command of the company, and was ordered to Shippensburg. We camped several miles beyond this place, in the direction of Carlisle. We had several encounters with the enemy.

June 27th.—The entire brigade moved on to Carlisle, and after some skirmishing with Pennsylvania militia on horse we passed the obstructions and fortifications, and occupied the city at 10 o'clock. About 3 o'clock General Ewell's Corps arrived. We advanced towards Mechanicsburg, Pa., and camped during the night about five miles distant from the town. Our pickets were attacked several times.

June 28th.—After some skirmishing with the Federal cavalry we occupied Mechanicsburg, and upon requisition were treated by the citizens to a delicious dinner. Probably the frightened people gave

up to us the meals prepared for their own table. Thus, greatly gratified and reinvigorated, we advanced towards the Susquehanna river, and about four miles from Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, we took position on a dominating hill. Jackson's Battery, belonging to our brigade, came up, and the artillery fire with the enemy ensued, lasting until nightfall. General Jenkins took position on Silver Springs turnpike, a road parallel to the Carlisle-Harrisburg turnpike, and I was ordered with my company to select a place of concealment east of Mechanicsburg, in order to protect our connection with Carlisle.

June 29th.—In the morning I received orders to meet General Jenkins and to act as his escort. We reconnoitered to the right of the Harrisburg turnpike, charged on the enemy's outposts, and viewed the city of Harrisburg and its defences. This was the farthest advance made by any Confederate troops during the campaign. During the following night I again received orders to be in ambush, although I and my command were nearly exhausted by constant and exciting service.

TO HOLD THE TOWN.

June 30th.—Early in the morning I was ordered to report with my company at headquarters, and General Jenkins directed me to proceed at once with my company and one cannon of Jackson's Battery to Mechanicsburg, to hold this town until ordered otherwise, and to destroy the railroad track as far as possible. I could learn nothing definite concerning the army and General Lee's plans. General Rhodes, I was told, occupied Carlisle, and General Early, York—with the latter was White's Cavalry—while General Imboden's Brigade protected our line of communication with Virginia. Greatly flattered to be entrusted with an expedition, properly belonging to an officer of higher rank, I started my command to Mechanicsburg, and when we came in sight of the town I dispatched a patrol to reconnoitre. A small company of Federal cavalry had just occupied the place, but retreated upon our approach. Without delay I marched into town and posted my pickets. The place appeared to be evacuated by the inhabitants; they all kept indoors. I posted my command on an elevation east of the town, overlooking both the railroad and the turnpike, and ordered my men to demolish the railroad track. We were repeatedly interrupted in this work by the reappearance of Yankees, and had to keep up a lively skirmish all day. We also observed many and demonstrative people in the

woods, some distance to our right, and I ordered Lieutenant Jackson to warn them off by some shots. At sunset a courier was sent from headquarters ordering me to leave Mechanicsburg after dark and fall back to Carlisle. There we met Jenkins' Brigade, and Captain Moorman rejoined his company and took charge of it. The entire command continued then to march to Petersburg, Pa., where we arrived about 2 o'clock in the morning. We encamped there, but expecting an attack, our horses were held saddled and our arms ready to hand.

July 1st.—At daybreak we were again in the saddle and on the road to Gettysburg. During the forenoon we heard heavy cannonading from that direction, and soon we learned that the two hostile armies had met unexpectedly. The Federal troops were finally defeated, but the loss on both sides was heavy, and that of the Union army the most severe. General Reynolds, the commanding general, was among the dead, and thousands of prisoners were taken by our victorious troops.

July 2d.—In the morning we advanced into the valley between Seminary Ridge and the mountain range held by the Union army. Jenkins' Brigade was posted in a piece of woodland, part of yesterday's battlefield, in sight of the seminary and the city of Gettysburg. Both armies had been reinforced and concentrated during the night. General Stuart, with the main force of our cavalry, was not at hand, and for want of cavalry the defeated Federals had not been pressed, and still held and fortified the eminence, above Gettysburg, controlling the valley. Our forces were in possession of the town. We were wondering at the silence prevalent, only in long intervals the report of a gun was heard. General Jenkins resolved to reconnoitre, and I was of his companions. Arrived on top of a hill our party attracted the enemy's attention, and we were fired upon. A shell exploded among us, wounding the General and his horse. The hours dragged on wearily, until in the afternoon twenty-seven Confederate batteries opened fire on the enemy's lines. The Federal artillery replied at once, and soon the rattling noise of the fire of small arms joined in the terrible accord of battle. Several infantry regiments en route for the bloody field passed by our position, and I was struck by the composure and determination the men displayed. The contest lasted until 9 in the evening, but scanty reports came to us respecting the course of the battle. At 9 o'clock our brigade was ordered back some miles towards Petersburg. Hungry and fatigued, I slept while in the saddle, but suddenly awoke, hearing

my name called by the adjutant of the regiment. The brigade had just met General Stuart, who, with his cavalry corps had, after severe engagements with the Federal cavalry at Hanover, brought with him 200 wagons, and 1,200 horses and mules, captured in the vicinity of Washington city, and, after having repulsed the enemy's attack, he now wanted an officer to inform Generals Gordon, Heth, and Early that he did no longer require any of the reinforcements he had asked for. I was selected to carry these messages, and all the directions regarding the headquarters of said generals, General Stuart could give, was: "You will find them somewhere on the left wing of our army; numerous men wounded in to-day's battle will cross your way, and they can tell you." I galloped off, and soon met many suffering victims of the bloody struggle. Finally emerging from a dark forest, a wide field, brilliant in the moonshine, was before me, and I observed a very slender line of soldiers in a hollow, within 200 yards of the enemy's sharpshooters. "Where will I find General Gordon's division?" I enquired from an officer, who came to meet me. Pointing to a line of soldiers stretched on the ground, and holding their muskets in their arms, he replied in a most mournful voice: "This is what is left of it." A few minutes later, General Gordon approached us, returning from an inspection of his scattered command, and I delivered to him General Stuart's message. "It is lucky for General Stuart," he answered, "that he does not require the regiments asked for. I have none to spare." Under similar discouraging circumstances I was received at Gettysburg by Generals Heth and Ewell, and several times on my way thither, the sharp whistle of a bullet sent after me by some Yankee outpost, touched my ear. Gettysburg impressed one like an enormous hospital—and a Yankee surgeon told me that there were about ten thousand of their wounded within our lines. About half past 1 in the morning I arrived at the camping place of my regiment.

THE THIRD DAY.

July 3d.—At 4 o'clock in the morning we mounted horses and, through fields and on by-roads, advanced to our extreme left, attempting to flank the enemy's army, and to cut off its way of retreat. Our sudden attack on their rear was a success, nearly fifteen minutes passed before they replied to the discharge of our artillery. For nearly an hour, the air was alive with shells—we lost men and horses, and finally we changed position and dismounted to charge the enemy on foot. General Fitzhugh Lee commanded our left wing, Generals

Hampton and William H. F. Lee, our centre, and Jenkins' Brigade formed the right wing. My company was ordered to the extreme right on the slope of a hill. Our opponents poured a rain of bullets and shells on us, but were forced slowly to fall back. We lost heavily —Lieutenant Allan, of our regiment was killed at my side. In the evening, General Hampton charged upon the Union cavalry, they could not withstand his attack, their line broke, and they fell back. It was a day of triumph for the Confederate cavalry, but unfortunate for the main force of our army, ended this third day of the battle. The roar of cannon, and the rattling volleys of infantry fire had told us that desperate fighting was carried on along the entire line. The results and details of the struggle were not, however, positively known to us when we moved back towards Hunterstown and encamped on fields and meadows.

July 4th.—At daybreak I was ordered to take charge of all members of the regiment, whose horses were not in marching condition and needed shoeing. There were about forty men to follow me and we started to find the field forges, but in vain. We were sent from place to place, and at last I was told that they had been ordered to join the wagon train on the Chambersburg road, and move to the rear. This was the first information I received of the retrogade movement of our army. I resolved then to try Gettysburg, and passing the house where our wounded general was quartered, I enquired about his health, and also if Gettysburg was still in our hands. The general's adjutant laughed at my doubt, and we rode on. We repassed the first day's battlefield and ascending the road to the city, we suddenly saw a large column of Blue-Coats before us. We were only about 100 yards apart, and I commanded to halt. Observing another large body of Federal infantry coming down hill on our left, I ordered my men to turn back. Coming to the foot of the hill, I met Adjutant Fitzhugh on his way to Gettysburg. He doubted our observation and I offered him our escort. When we came to the brow of the road—from where the lines of the Federals could be plainly seen—we halted. They had not advanced, evidently not knowing what to make of our approach, but a gun was fired on us from the top of the hill above the city, and we all turned again. The adjutant hastened to remove our general to some place of safety. Following the road to Petersburg, we met General Stuart and his staff. He enquired where we came from, and if the Yankees were moving on, and upon my report, he turned off towards Cashtown. There was no escort to protect him, but he declined to have ours,

seeing the condition of our lame horses. I took the same road and in a village we discovered a blacksmith shop. We helped ourselves and had the horses quickly shod. Fortunately we were not molested by the enemy. At night, stormy weather set in and we took refuge in a large barn.

AT CASHTOWN.

July 5th.—In the morning we rode to Cashtown, where I met General Fitzhugh Lee, and then we marched by way of Summits, the place of our engagement of June 23d, to Greencastle. The enemy attacked General Lee, but was repulsed with heavy loss. At 12 o'clock at night we met General Imboden's brigade, in charge of the wagon-train. The road was in a sorry condition, on account of the rain, and cut up by the wagons, some of which had to be left behind. At Greenwood and at Greencastle the train was attacked by Federal cavalry, but they were repulsed without being able to do much harm. All our men discussed our serious defeat at Gettysburg, its causes and probable consequences, and all seemed to agree that the disadvantage arising from our extended line was the cause of the disaster. Our army surrounded the Union army in the shape of a horseshoe, and, therefore, reinforcements could not, in case of need, be promptly rendered by one part to the other. The enemy, on the other hand, had the advantage of a concentrated, hilly position, which we were unable to take, after the success of the first day's battle had failed to be followed up, thus allowing the defeated army time to fortify and be reinforced. All regret the loss of the brave soldiers, estimated at from 15,000 to 20,000.

July 6th.—In search of Jenkins' Brigade, I marched to Hagerstown, Md. I was enjoying a delicious dinner at the Washington Hotel when one of my troop informed me that the enemy was in town. I called my men together; we heard the shooting between some cavalry of the Wise Legion and the Yankees in the streets, and we hastened to assist the small Confederate force. We came too late. Colonel Davis, commanding, had his horse killed, and was taken prisoner, and his men were falling back. Fortunately, a regiment of Confederate infantry entered the city at this critical moment, and we proceeded to drive the Yankees out of the city. They were in strong force, and skirmishing was kept up until half-past 5 o'clock, when Jenkins' Brigade came to our succor. The Union cavalry retreated, but surprised our wagon-train at Williamsport, and destroyed a number of wagons. We encamped near Hagerstown.

July 7th.—Captain Moorman reporting sick, I took command of Co. D, 14th Virginia Cavalry. We marched towards Sharpsburg, and had some skirmishes with the enemy, who left several dead, wounded and prisoners in our hands. It was a reconnoitering movement. On our advance we passed an interesting group—Generals Robert E. Lee, Longstreet and others. About three miles from Sharpsburg our course of march was changed, and we advanced towards Boonsborough. About five miles from this village, we encamped. The rain poured down and the creeks and the Potomac began to rise.

July 8th.—Early in the morning I received orders to report with my company at General Robert E. Lee's headquarters. The General was already waiting, and instructed me to leave half the company with him, and to take the van with the other half. He also directed me to attack the enemy's outposts whenever I should meet them, and to send a messenger to him in such an event. We had not advanced far when we saw a Federal vidette, and charged upon it. We surprised the whole outpost, killing two. I sent word at once to General Lee, and waited further instructions. About 9 o'clock heavy cannonading was heard in the direction of Boonesborough, and soon after I received order to advance to the field of action. The enemy made up a very strong force of cavalry, artillery and infantry. General Fitzhugh Lee attacked the left wing of the Federals, General Jones their centre, and Jenkins' Brigade was to fight the right flank. At 10 o'clock, and about two miles from Boonesborough, we came under the enemy's fire. We dismounted, and the whole brigade charged on the enemy's position behind stone fences and in the woods, yelling almost like Indians. We drove them back about a mile, and held our ground, in spite of a terrible carnage of bullets and shells. At 7 o'clock I received order to slowly fall back, when the enemy made desperate efforts to cut us off in a defile near Antietam bridge, but got out of the scrape unhurt. The field of action was the historical ground known as the battle-field of Sharpsburg, or, as the Federals term it, Antietam. On our side several officers and men had been killed. I lost three men, and my uniform jacket showed a bullet-hole. When we fell back we had only two cartridges left for every man. The aim of this engagement was to ascertain the position and strength of the Federal forces which are reported to concentrate at Frederick City. Another great battle seems to be imminent.

July 9th.—At 7 o'clock in the morning our cavalry force again

advanced towards Antietam, and lively skirmishing ensued. We fell back, fighting constantly. At 5 o'clock in the evening we were reinforced by a regiment of infantry, and our assailants were repelled. These bloody engagements, surely, are but preludes of battle. A report is current that Major-General D. H. Hill is bringing on two divisions from Virginia. Captain Moorman reported for duty, and took command of our company. During night we camped near the day's position.

July 11th.—At daybreak we again advanced about half a mile, to protect the infantry, throwing up a long line of zigzag rifle ditches and abattis. At noon we fell back to the rear of the infantry, and were ordered to the right flank of our line of battle, which, I am told, is to be commanded by General Longstreet. Passing the double row of rifle-ditches, we saw several batteries of artillery bringing up their guns. The right flank of our army occupies a range of hilly woodland, and I think it is a strong position. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon Jenkins' Brigade is drawn up in line of parade, and first an order of General Robert E. Lee was read, complimenting us on our good services before and during the battle of Gettysburg, and expressing his confidence that we will render similar good service in the impending battle. This was followed by the reading of a circular of General Stuart, stating that the cavalry, after having successfully checked the advance of the enemy, would be posted at the flanks of the army to take very active action in the coming battle. Any task entrusted to his men they are expected to fulfil, and officers and men must impress upon their minds that no wavering or giving way can possibly take place during the coming struggle. These very serious communications were received by the men with that firmness and cheerfulness characteristic of Southern soldiers. All of us were aware of the dangers surrounding us—the Potomac swelled by the heavy rains of the last few days, impeding our retreat, and the enemy's forces much larger than our decimated and almost exhausted regiments. During the afternoon silence prevailed along the entire line, but about 7 o'clock in the evening the enemy advanced to reconnoitre our position. Our artillery kept strictly silent.

FULL OF ALARM.

July 12th.—The day was full of alarm and excitement. The news of the surrender of Vicksburg had reached us, and a report was circulated that a strong Federal army was concentrating at Winchester,

Virginia, to cut off our retreat. It was also stated that the Federal cavalry had destroyed the pontoons, brought up from Richmond for bridging the Potomac, and that our supplies of provisions and ammunition were giving out. At three o'clock in the afternoon, our brigade received orders from General Fitzhugh Lee, to proceed to our left wing, between Hagerstown and Williamsport, and there we remained for the rest of the day and the following night, ready for action.

July 13th.—At daybreak we marched to the centre of our line of fortifications, reaching on the right to the Potomac, and on the left to the hills about one mile from Antietam. We were ordered to dismount, leaving every fourth man in charge of the other's horses, and we took the places of the infantry in the rifle ditches. The retreat of the army to Virginia had begun, the enemy hesitating to give battle.

July 14th.—At 3 o'clock in the morning, Captain Moorman instructed me to call in at about 5 o'clock, our outposts, but to keep up the camp fires and quietly withdraw to Williamsport, where I was to ford the Potomac. Everything was carefully done according to orders, but without my knowing then that I was in command of the last Confederate troops leaving Maryland. General Fitzhugh Lee was awaiting us on the bluffs on the Virginia side with his division, and Federal cavalry and artillery appearing on the Maryland side after I had safely crossed the river, we marched on towards Martinsburg.

A War Letter.

As bearing directly upon the contents of the above, the republication of the following letter is timely:

(Correspondence of Richmond *Enquirer*.)

GENERAL JENKINS' BRIGADE,

NEAR HARRISBURG, PA., *June 30, 1863.*

Messrs. Editors—Our last communication was dated Carlisle, Pa., June 27th. That day General Rhodes' command came up, and General Jenkins' Brigade passed three miles beyond and encamped for the night.

The next morning we entered and occupied Mechanicsburg, seven miles distant from Harrisburg. In the evening we advanced and harassed their pickets a few hours, and then fell back a mile or two

and encamped. Next morning we advanced again, and kept up lively picket skirmishing all day.

The Baltimore battery played upon the enemy's outposts occasionally on two roads. In the afternoon Jackson's Battery—which belongs to General Jenkins' Brigade—came up, and was placed in position on the left. It worked admirably, and, covered by it, Lieutenant-Colonel Witcher, with his brave men, charged and took the enemy's outpost. At the same time, General Jenkins, with Captain Moorman's company, under command of Lieutenant Schuricht, acting as his escort, made a reconnoissance on the right, and obtained a pretty fair view of the enemy's position, fortifications and probable strength, and again fell back and encamped on the same ground of the previous night.

This must be regarded as very daring for such a small force to hold in check a large army, sent for the defence of their capital, so long.

The contemplated move of the present day is not known to the writer. The boys are faring sumptuously every day. This is a land of plenty, and the citizens express a willingness for them to avail themselves of their hospitalities for self-protection. More anon.

W. K.

EVACUATION ECHOES.

Assistant-Secretary of War Campbell's Interview with Mr. Lincoln.

The following letter, though it has been published several times before, will be found interesting:

RICHMOND, VA., *April 7, 1865.*

General Joseph R. Anderson and Others, Committee, etc.:

GENTLEMEN—I have had, since the evacuation of Richmond, two conversations with Mr. Lincoln, President of the United States. My object was to secure for the citizens of Richmond, and the inhabitants of the State of Virginia, who had come under the military authority of the United States, as much gentleness and forbearance as could be possibly extended.

The conversation had relation to the establishment of a government for Virginia, the requirement of oaths of allegiance from the citizens, and the terms of settlement with the United States, with the

concurrence and sanction of General Weitzell. He assented to the application not to require oaths of allegiance from the citizens. He stated that he would send to General Weitzell his decision upon the question of a government of Virginia.

This letter was received on Thursday, and was read by me. It authorized General Weitzell to grant a safe conduct to the Legislature of Virginia, to meet at Richmond to deliberate, and to return to their homes at the end of their session.

I am informed by General Weitzell that he will isue whatever orders that may be necessary, and will furnish all the facilities of transportation, etc., to the members of the Legislature, to meet in this city; and that the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and public men of the State will be included in the orders.

The object of the invitation is for the Government of Virginia to determine whether they will administer the laws in connection with the authorities of the United States, and under the Constitution of the United States.

I understood from Mr. Lincoln, if this condition be fulfilled, that no attempt would be made to establish or sustain any other authority.

My conversation with President Lincoln upon the terms of settlement was answered in writing—that is, he left with me a written memorandum of the substance of his answer. He states that, as indispensable conditions of a settlement the restoration of the authority of the United States over the whole of the States, and the cessation of hostilities by the disbanding of the army, and that there shall be no receding on the part of the Executive from his position on the slavery question. The latter proposition was explained to mean that the Executive action on the subject of slavery, so far as it had been declared in messages, proclamations, and other official acts, must pass for what they were worth. That he would not recede from his position; but that this would not debar action by other authorities of the government.

I suppose that, if the proclamation of the President be valid as law, that it has already operated and vested rights.

I believe that full confidence may be placed in General Weitzell's fulfilment of his promise to afford facilities to the Legislature, and that its members may return after they had concluded their business, without interruption. Mr. Lincoln, in his memorandum, referred to what would be his action under the confiscation act. He stated that where the property had not been condemned and sold, that he would make a universal release of the forfeitures that had been incurred in

any State which would now promptly recognise the authority of the United States, and withdraw its troops; but that if the war be persisted in, that the confiscated property must be regarded as a resource, from which the expenses of the war might be supported. His memorandum contains no article upon the penalties imposed upon persons; but in his oral communications he intimated that there was scarcely any one who might not have a discharge upon the asking.

I understand from the statement—though the words did not exactly imply it—that a universal amnesty would be granted if peace was concluded.

In my intercourse I strongly urged the propriety of an armistice. This was done after the preparation of his memorandum. He agreed to consider the subject, but no answer has been received. I suppose that if he assents, that the matter will be decided and executed between Generals Grant and Lee.

Very respectfully yours,

J. A. Campbell.
Assistant Secretary of War.

(Under pressure from Admiral Porter and others, Mr. Lincoln was compelled almost immediately to revoke his order permitting the Legislature to assemble.—*Dispatch.*)

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, June 16, 1896.]

THE JAMES CITY CAVALRY.

Its Organization and Its First Service.

MOVEMENT IN POPE'S REAR.

A Successful Charge Upon a Picket Post—Some Sounds of Revelry—Attacking a Train—Roll of the Company.

Toano, *June 1, 1896.*

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

After the battle of Malvern Hill the cavalry turned its head north, and halted ten days or more near Hanover Courthouse. The 5th Regiment, of which the James City Cavalry was a part, camped in Mrs. Winston's field, which was dotted over with wheat shocks,

affording shelter and food for an innumerable host of harvest-bugs. These bugs put themselves upon terms of great familiarity with the men, crawling over them and seeming to have a fancy for exploring the depths of the ears of the sleepers. The shrieks and groans of the sufferers oftimes made night hideous, and aroused the whole camp. The aid of the surgeon was invoked, and his skill was tested in extracting the bores. While here Colonel Rosser made the acquaintance of the beautiful and classic Miss Winston, and began the most successful campaign of an active and aggressive soldier's life. Here, too, I was detailed as judge of a court-martial, of which Stephen D. Lee was president—a man to whom the coming reunion will give an international fame. While we were sitting upon an important case the cavalry started upon a march, and we were ordered to our respective commands.

After an uneventful march of many miles we halted near the Rappahannock, upon an ideal camping ground—a high, dry, clean oak grove, whose brown leaves were so inviting that many of the jaded horses were lying down before their saddles could be taken off. There was one man, E. M. Ware, who did not dismount, but sought the favor of going in search of better rations. He soon returned, elated with his success. He had traded his uncooked rations for good family fare and arranged to have loaf-bread, butter, honey, and milk so long as he might need them; but before these things came to hand "boots and saddles" sounded, and we were on our way up the river, the James City Cavalry acting as advance guard.

After crossing the river and passing through many villages, we came to Warrenton. Here I stopped long enough to call out Dr. Joel S. Bacon, once President of Columbian College, to shake his hands and ask about Josie, of whom I had pleasant reminiscences. We turned down the first street leading east, and were halted about a half-mile from the town, upon the brow of a hill commanding a beautiful view. Upon looking back, we saw that the whole of Stuart's Cavalry had dismounted in the town, and there was such a stir and commotion as to excite one's curiosity. But looking to the east, we descried something slowly approaching us. Nearer and nearer it came, until I ordered four men to capture it, and it proved to be a suttler's wagon. The wagon and driver we put in charge of A. B. Willis—"K." is now marked opposite his name on the roster. Willis knew more about basket-making than he did about cavalry tactics, yet when he brought his sabre to a carry, reined up his gray

mare, and took command of an unarmed suttler, he looked every inch a soldier.

CAUSE OF THE STIR.

When Willis returned from the delivery of his charge to the quartermaster he explained the town's stir: The citizens had ordered Stuart to halt his column long enough to eat the dinners prepared for themselves, and handed around by the ladies, who did not take time to don hats and aprons. It is a pity to draw the brush over this lovely picture, but truth demands that I should say that the watching, waiting, vanguard was forgotten! All that we got was a pelting, driving rain. The dinner over, the orderly dashed up and said: "The General orders that you push ahead and cross Cedar creek, now swollen by the rain, unless your horses have to swim." Our zeal pronounced the creek fordable, although it was angry, dashing, crashing and swollen much beyond its usual limits.

After a dangerous struggle we crossed, and sent back word that it would be impossible to get the artillery over. Ah! who can tell what would have been the result if the artillery could have crossed? After marching a short distance, we came to a splendid mansion on our left, whose lawn was extended to the road, and was reached on foot by a stile. Here we halted and called out the owner, a ruddy, hearty old man. In reply to our questions he gave unsatisfactory answers.

HIS MANNER CHANGED.

While the interview was going on he was joined by his daughter, whose countenance was sad and downcast. In a few seconds her face was illuminated; smiles rippled over her cheeks; she clapped her hands, and exclaimed: "Oh, father, these are our boys. Don't you see the gray beneath their overcoats?" The old man leaped from the stile and began handshaking and questioning, but "on" was the word, and on we went. Next an orderly came, in full gallop, with the order to charge anything in our way except artillery. On we dashed. The shades of night were gathering fast; the rain was coming down in torrents, and we had no idea how far from us was our support; but we knew from horse-tracks and an occasional straggler that we were nearing the enemy. About half an hour after sunset our guide, who was every inch a guide, advised us to charge an old Colonial brick church, the headquarters of the enemy's picket-post. With a rush the charge was made, with complete success. The rain had driven in all the pickets, who had lighted up the

church, and were enjoying a bountiful supper. It was the work of a minute to disarm these men and send them to the rear, with the information that nearly all of the vanguard were guarding prisoners, and that I needed help, but would not wait for it. On we dashed, and about a hour after sunset we came in full sight of Pope's wagon-train at Bristoe Station. It was a time of intense excitement. Minutes lengthened into hours, and hours would have been days. The lurid lightning was flashing thick and fast, the thunder would have dwarfed a corps of man's artillery; the rain was a down-pour, mules were tramping and neighing, smouldering camp-fires were fast going out, but the lightning occasionally revealed wagons, mules, and hay. And, above all, we did not know when to expect our support.

SOUNDS OF REVELRY.

Near by us sounds of revelry broke upon our ears, and the music of the violin and the tread of the dancers oddly mixed with the surrounding sounds and scenes. E. M. Ware and C. W. Hubbard ventured up to the banquet-hall, and brought the information that the house was full of dancing officers and women. But we were afraid to make arrests lest an outcry be raised. While waiting for reinforcements, a Federal surgeon—the lightning told us what he was—rode up to us. He was rushed to the rear, with orders not to say a word. He was splendidly mounted, and oh, how I wished to exchange my outfit for his. Stuart, Fitz. Lee, Roony Lee and Rosser all came up together. Orders were speedily given for the attack, Rosser to charge straight ahead and to tear up the railroad-track, but no axes had been prepared for this work. Suppose they had been, who can tell what would have been the result? Rosser headed his men in the charge, but before they had gone a hundred yards the whole regiment was floundering in a railroad-cut filled with water. This difficulty was overcome, but we had to undergo a still worse one on the east side of the track; and yet this was also surmounted without the loss of life, but not without the loss of temper. By the time we had shaken off the water from ourselves, and poured it out of our carbines, the main attack on the right had begun. Yells, cheers, groans, reports of pistols and carbines, and the clashing of sabres were heard, and the noise of the train that was returning from Pope's headquarters was rapidly nearing. This was our business, and so Rosser drew up his regiment in line facing the track, and ordered a fire upon the passing train. This was done in good style,

and the bullets could be distinctly heard crashing through the cars. The surprise was complete, the attack a success. And now, having brought my narrative down to where history begins, I close with the remark that in the strategic move in Pope's rear the James City Cavalry was the vanguard, and did its duty dashingly, heroically and efficiently.

I append a roster of the company.

JAMES H. ALLEN.

THE ROSTER.

The James City Cavalry, Company H, Fifth Regiment, was mustered into service in the city of Williamsburg by Colonel Munford, May 22, 1861. There were so few members enrolled that a little cheating was done in order to get it accepted. It subsequently made such a reputation, that it was more difficult to keep out recruits than it was to gain them. It never lost a man by transfer, and only one by exchange. Major B. B. Douglas once remarked to me: "Your company illustrates the fact that educated gentlemen always make good soldiers." This company was a close follower of Rosser, Fitz. Lee, Payne, Lomax, and Stuart, and was a sufferer with Early in his Valley campaign.

Captains.—G. E. Geddy, dead; James H. Allen, wounded; L. W. Lane, wounded.

Lieutenants.—M. A. Meanley, dead; Andrew Hockaday; George E. Bush, dead; C. W. Hubbard, killed; J. F. Hubbard; E. M. Ware, wounded and prisoner, dead; J. W. Morecock, killed.

Sergeants.—G. E. Richardson, wounded—sabre cut—and prisoner; R. H. Whitaker, dead; J. T. James, dead; G. B. Ratcliffe, dead; M. R. Harrell, wounded, Felix Pierce, dead; R. E. Taylor; John Cowles, dead.

Corporals.—S. S. Hankins, prisoner; D. W. Spencer; G. A. Piggott, dead; C. W. Cowles, wounded—sabre cut—and prisoner, dead; G. W. Tyree; J. W. Manning, dead.

Privates.—Richard Apperson, unknown; G. W. Bacon; —— Ball, unknown; J. H. Barnes, prisoner; Basil B. Bennett, unknown; E. F. Blair, wounded, dead; Frank Bowden; W. T. Boswell, wounded, dead; William Burke, R. H. Bush; G. R. N. B. Bush, prisoner; C. W. Coleman, dead; P. T. Cowles, prisoner; D. S. Coles, dead; W. T. Coles, Tom Davis; S. S. Edwards, dead; Sylvanus Edwards, dead; G. H. Enos, wounded; Jerry Garnett, Joe Garnett, Robert Garnett; F. W. Hammond, dead; T. W. Hankins, dead; Charles

Hansford, B. C. Harwood, John Hicks, Oliver Hockaday, dead; Gustavus Hope, J. W. Hubbard, G. W. James, wounded, dead; —— Jeter, unknown; J. P. Johnson, B. A. Marston, dead; J. W. Marston, T. P. Marston, D. W. Marston, M. J. Martin, dead; M. Mattingly, dead; George Meanley, dead; —— Moon, Wm. Mountcastle, George Mountcastle, John Mountcastle; —— Muir, killed; F. C. Newman, dead; Archer Pamplin, unknown; Sam. Pettit, killed; W. M. Pierce, N. D. Piggott, dead; Hamilton Richardson, killed; C. H. Richardson, G. W. Richardson, Walter Shackford, killed; Sydney Smith, dead; Tom Sparrow, unknown; R. M. Spencer, killed; G. W. Stewart, dead; W. M. Taylor, Cyrus Tyree, dead; W. B. Vaiden, Algernon Vaiden, dead; Vulosko Vaiden, prisoner, dead; Robert Warburton, dead; Southey Ward, unknown; H. B. Warren, Watkins Warren, unknown; Robert Watkins, R. C. Whitaker, dead; G. W. Whitaker, R. C. Whitaker, dead; G. M. Whitaker, A. B. Willis, killed; Sam. Wooten, wounded; Tom Wynne, dead.

NOTES.

Casualties:

Killed,	8
Wounded,	10
Prisoners,	8
Total,	26
Dead,	44
Living,	45
Unknown,	8
Total,	97

Promotions outside of the Company:

James H. Allen, lieutenant-colonel.
E. M. Ware, captain Confederate States Army.
Dr. C. W. Coleman, surgeon Confederate States Army.
Dr. Watkins Warren, surgeon Confederate States Navy.
Dr. R. H. Bush, surgeon Confederate States Army.

GOOCHLAND LIGHT DRAGOONS.

Organization and First Outpost Experience -The Roll.

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

I send you herewith a role of the Goochland Light Dragoons, late Company F, 4th Virginia Cavalry, Wickham's Brigade, later Stuart's, Fitz. Lee's Division, Army Northern Virginia. The troop left Goochland, Va., on May 9, 1861, and proceeded to Richmond, Va., and was quartered for the night in a new building on Franklin street, below the Exchange Hotel. I think the building was known later as Westcott's Hotel. The next day (the 10th) the troop marched to Ashland, and was quartered in the Methodist church. It was mustered into the service of Virginia by Colonel Richard Ewell. It remained at Ashland about ten days, and was then ordered to Manassas, and on its arrival there marched to Fairfax Station, on the Orange & Alexandria Railroad, and went into camp to await the coming of the Yankees, and to do picket duty on the outpost. The next morning early a courier came dashing into camp with orders for us to march post-haste to Fairfax Courthouse, as the Yankees were advancing. A squadron of them had dashed into the village, and killed Captain Marr, of the Warrenton Rifles, and wounded Colonel Ewell. The troop was soon in the saddle, and marched rapidly to the courthouse, and found everything in great excitement. We remained mounted the balance of the day, but no Yankees appearing for us to fight we returned to our camp. The above was our first experience on outpost duty in Fairfax county. It would be too long a story to relate every detail of our experience from the Battle of Manassas to the finale at Appomattox.

Very truly yours, etc.,

C. H. Powell,
Trumpeter Co. F, 4th Virginia Cavalry,
Army Northern Virginia.

THE ROLL.

Julian Harrison, captain, dead; G. F. Harrison, first lieutenant; John D. Hobson, second lieutenant; A. Maben Hobson, orderly sergeant, dead; William R. Fleming, second sergeant; John A. Pickett, third sergeant, died 1862; Charles B. Trevillian, fourth sergeant;

James M. Trice, first corporal; John G. Ragland, second corporal; Jesse H. Death, third corporal, died 1866; Z. H. Bowles, fourth corporal; and the following enlisted men: M. L. Anderson, died since the war, Robert Hartwell Anderson, wounded near The Plains, Fauquier county, Thomas C. Anderson, Garland M. Anderson, killed at the Wilderness, Thomas R. Argyle, Jr., died 1861, George T. Britt, W. B. W. Brooking, Walter P. Branch, died 1869, Richard Bolling, John J. Cheatwood, Thomas C. Cosby, F. N. Fleming, died 1887, C. D. Fleming, W. L. Fleming, Thomas Mann Fleming, died 1872, Reubin Ford, Thomas C. Galt, died 1896, Robert Galt, died 1875, David L. Hall, William R. Hall, wounded at Williamsburg, Va., Thomas M. Harris, died of wounds received at Buckland, Silas M. Hart, died about 1885, John C. James, wounded at Wilderness, John D. James, discharged 1861, George R. Johnson, George Lawrence, died 1889, A. K. Leake, Thomas D. Massie, died 1861, James P. Morris, died 1895, Edmond S. Pendleton, Charles K. Pendleton, Richard Pemberton, died 1863, Thomas Pemberton, died 1870, Thomas J. Perkins, died 1872, C. H. Powell, trumpeter, Jim Pleasants, died 1875 from wound received at Front Royal, Thomas J. Rutherford, died 1883, S. D. Ragland, William R. Rock, John S. Swift, died 1874, Oscar Shultice, died 1892, R. A. Trice, John M. Toler, died 1875, A. V. Taylor, Peter D. Woodson and James E. Walder.

This makes a total of fifty-seven, rank and file. The following recruits enlisted from time to time: David B. Allan, dead, Powhatan Ayers, dead, E. H. Argyle, Joseph Argyle, dead, Mat. G. Anderson, dead, Robert Anderson, Pat. Brannan, drowned 1863 pursuing Yankees, William Baugh, dead, Branch Bell, R. L. Brooking, dead, A. C. Brooking, John Black, dead, Thomas Burk, dead, B. F. Bowles, Thomas A. Curd, dead, Isaac Curd, Julien Childress, George T. Cowherd, Robert Dabney, A. V. Duval, dead, Robert Dickenson, dead, R. Q. Dickenson, John H. Duke, James Duke, Dandridge Bollings, dead, John Eades, George W. Fleming, James Foster, dead, Samuel R. Guy, dead, Thomas M. Gathright, John S. Gathright, S. H. Gathright, William Galt, dead, Joseph Goodman, died 1864, Julien Henderson, wounded at Trevillian's Depot, Thomas Herndon, died 1862, George T. Herndon, wounded at Pole Green Church, Thomas J. Holman, killed at Spotsylvania, Edward Haden, killed at Spotsylvania, Douglass Haden, killed at Five Forks, John N. Haden, Hancock Hamilton, wounded at Five Forks, E. T. Hughes, Joseph E. Hauchins, dead, Thomas Houchins, W. H.

Jennings, Robert James, died in camp near Fairfax Courthouse, Fred. R. James, Thomas J. James, dead, Obediah Johnson, dead, Carter Johnson, Reverdy Johnson, George Logan, wounded at Cannon's Wharf and captured, Charles Lacy, W. F. Lewis, R. J. Saving, Hiter Loving, died 1862, John Laddin, killed near Lee Town, Mike McPhalin, John C. Miller, discharged 1862, Chastine Miller, killed at Williamsburg, Va., Joseph H. Malory, wounded at Five Forks and captured, William Morris, Samuel Mosby, Richard Messenger, Polk Nuckols, P. O. Nuckols, W. H. Parrish, B. F. Parrish, Napoleon B. Perkins, Morton Payne, William Pleasants, Alonzo Pleasants, John Pleasants, dead, John Palmore, John Quigley, dead, N. M. Ragland, dead, John C. Ragland, John W. Randolph, —— Ring, Marcellas Shelton, killed at Lee Town, Va., E. Newell Sims, dead; Thomas J. Sims, wounded at Wilderness, —— Savage, Tomolin Price, R. A. Trice (Louisa Dick), William J. Trice, dead, Robert H. Trice, —— Terrill, Ben Trice, dead, N. S. Thurman, last heard of in Kentucky, William Fourman, John Talley, Philip Taylor, Charles Webster, residence unknown, William James Wright, Richard A. Wise, Isaac Williams and Robert F. Vaughan.

[From the Richmond *Dispatch*, June 23, 1896.]

RICHARDSON GUARD.

Muster-Roll of this Madison County Company.

RICHMOND, VA., *June 11, 1896.*

To the Editor of the Dispatch:

I herewith enclose the muster-roll of the Richardson Guards, which became Co. A, of the 7th Virginia Regiment, and will be obliged if you will publish it in your Confederate column. Many of the survivors of this company write me they will be here at the reunion, and it will please them to see this list in your paper.

Yours respectfully,

CATLETT CONWAY.

THE ROLL.

Company "A," 7th Virginia Infantry, Kemper's Brigade, Pickett's Division, Longstreet's Corps, was organized at Madison Courthouse a few months before the John Brown raid, and was on guard

at Charlestown during the trial and execution of some of that notorious band. It was composed of young men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, sons of some of the best citizens of the county. A large majority of them had been educated at some of the best high schools in the State, including the Virginia Military Institute and the University of Virginia. The company numbered about fifty-five, rank and file, at that time, and the first officers were John Welch, captain; William J. Cave, first lieutenant; H. W. Gordon, second lieutenant, and Nelson W. Crisler, third lieutenant.

April, 1861, the company being recruited to about 100 men, thirty of whom were six feet and over in height, left Madison Courthouse, by private conveyance, for Culpeper Courthouse, thence by railroad to Manassas Junction, where, with nine other companies, drawn from the counties of Albemarle, Greene, Orange, Rappahannock and Fauquier, they formed the gallant 7th Regiment, with James L. Kemper for its colonel; Lewis Williams, lieutenant-colonel; Tazewell Patton, major, and C. C. Flowerree, adjutant.

The 1st Virginia Regiment and the 7th fought together at Bull Run, and were as twin brothers throughout the whole war, fighting side by side in every battle that either was engaged in.

Company A was reorganized at Yorktown, Va., in the spring of 1882, with the following officers: William O. Fry, captain; Thomas V. Fry, first lieutenant; William F. Harrison, second lieutenant, and George N. Thrift, third lieutenant; James Watson, first sergeant; W. B. Carpenter, second sergeant; R. W. Sparks, third sergeant; Catlett Conway, fourth sergeant; George R. Teasley, first corporal; Osmond Bradford, second corporal; R. A. Thomas, third corporal, and John W. Gully, fourth corporal, and the following privates:

Robert H. Aylor, died since the war; John W. Aylor, died since the war; James C. Blankenbeker; E. Frank Blankenbeker, dead; George M. Blankenbeker, dead; Jerome N. Blankenbeker, died in hospital; James N. Blankenbeker; James Burdette; N. W. Bowler, dead; Benjamin Bowler, dead; Thomas Bohannon, died in hospital; T. A. Bohannon; J. T. Bledsoe, dead; John J. Brown; Edwin Botan, wagon-master, now dead; Sinclair Booton, dead; A. W. Clatterbuck, killed at First Manassas; C. G. Carpenter; Robert E. Carpenter; John A. Carpenter; A. W. Carpenter; James H. Carpenter; H. L. Carpenter, dead; J. O. Carpenter, dead; John W. Carpenter, dead; Charles C. Conway; James O. Clore; R. W. Clore; James Clore, killed at Williamsburg, Va.; W. H. Clore, dead; John W. Collins; R. Z. Darnold; John W. Davis, died in hospital, buried in

Oakwood; C. W. Estes; William David Early, died since the war, lost an arm at Frazier's Farm; T. L. Evans, killed at Gettysburg; W. H. Fray; R. B. Faulkner; W. N. Ford, dead; John Ford; S. H. Finks, dead; M. F. Finks; William H. Gaar; W. W. Gooding, killed at Frazier's Farm; John W. Gully; G. W. Gullyhugh; William S. Hume; J. Booton Hill; J. H. Huffman; John Hunton; John W. Hawkins; James Harrison, died in hospital; Alfred W. Jones; E. O. Jones, killed at Gettysburg; John H. Jackson; George Jackson; John W. Keeser; John W. Layton, dead; John Lightfoot, dead; John H. Lillard; H. M. Lillard; John Leetch; W. J. Lacy; D. W. Lacy; James T. McClarey; T. J. Newman, seriously wounded at First Manassas, died since the war; T. W. Nicol; John W. Price; J. C. Rush; Thomas Rush; T. E. Rowzee, died since the war; John M. Reynolds; R. A. Seal, died since the war; John Story, killed at Frazier's Farm; C. Sisk; R. T. Snyder, dead; W. Sheppard, dead; R. S. Thomas; Edward Tatum, killed at Seven Pines; Robert Tansill, promoted to sergeant-major of the Seventh Regiment; William Watson, promoted to color-bearer of the Seventh Regiment; George Mason Wallace; Michael Wallace, courier with General Kemper; John W. Wayland; James E. Wayland; B. F. Weaver, transferred to the quartermaster department; E. F. Weaver, transferred to the quartermaster department; C. C. Yager, transferrred to the commissary department.

The original name of this company was "The Richardson Guards," named in honor of the then Adjutant-General of the State.

I am largely indebted to Lieutenant William F. Harrison, now a prosperous merchant at Madison Courthouse, Va., for assistance in getting up this roll of the old company. The original officers of the company were transferred to other branches of the service. Lieutenant N. W. Crisler was appointed quartermaster of Kemper's Brigade, with rank of major.

NOTE—Captain William O. Fry, Lieutenant T. V. Fry, and Lieutenant George N. Thrift were each wounded several times, but died since the war. First Sergeant James Watson was killed at Boonsboro, Md. Second Sergeant W. B. Carpenter was killed near Drewry's Bluff. Most of those marked dead died from wounds. Nearly every man who remained with the company was wounded one or more times.

THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE

OF THE

MONUMENT TO PRESIDENT JEFFERSON DAVIS,

In Monroe Park at Richmond, Virginia, Thursday, July 2, 1896,

WITH THE

ORATION OF GENERAL STEPHEN D. LEE.

The Confederate Re-union held at Richmond June 29—July 2, 1896, was a gathering never to be forgotten by the interested participants. The results of the conferences of prominent ex-Confederate officers and soldiers were in the highest degree important in the interest actively enlisted in the weal and comfort of the aged and needy veteran, and toward the truthful presentation of the history of the struggle of the South.

The most impressive day of the period was, it may be realized, that on which the corner-stone of the monument in Monroe Park to the memory of the President of the Southern Confederacy was laid.

It was propitious, the air was balmy and the skies clear. The city, with its bright decorations, was literally crowded with old Confederates and the curious visitor from various sections. Not only were all the States of the South and West represented, but also quite all of those of the North and East.

THE MASONIC CEREMONIES.

It was about twenty minutes after 4 o'clock when the corner-stone ceremonies were started. These were conducted after the usual form, by the Grand Lodge of Virginia, whose officers are: Most Worshipful J. P. Fitzgerald, Grand Master; Right Worshipful A. R. Courtney, Deputy Grand Master; Right Worshipful, R. T. W. Duke, Jr., Grand Senior Warden; Right Worshipful George W. Wright, Grand Junior Warden; Right Worshipful Frederick Pleasants, Grand Treasurer; Right Worshipful George W. Carrington, Grand Secretary; Right Worshipful H. O. Kerns, Grand Senior Deacon; Right Worshipful Edward N. Eubank, Grand Junior Deacon; Right Worshipful George H. Ray, Grand Chaplain; Worshipful J. A. Cosby, Grand Pursivant; Brother W. C. Wilkinson, Grand Tiler; Brother William Krause, Grand Steward.

The Masonic marshals were: Most Worshipful William B. Taliaferro, P. G. M., Grand Marshal; Worshipful J. Thompson Brown, P. M., Assistant Grand Marshal; Right Worshipful William Gibson, Jr., D. D. G. M., Richmond, Va.; Worshipful Samuel W. Williams, P. M., Wytheville, Va.; Worshipful Julius Straus, P. M., Richmond, Va.; Worshipful Thomas S. Taliaferro, P. M., Gloucester county, Va.; Brother Garrett G. Gooch, Staunton, Virginia; Brother Charles H. Phillips, Richmond, Va.

Grand Chaplain George H. Ray offered prayer.

GRAND MASTER'S ADDRESS.

"In confiding the 'implements of operative masonry" to Brother Wilfred E. Cutshaw, the Engineer of the city of Richmond, the Grand Master said:

"Brother Cutshaw, as the Engineer of the city of Richmond, and as a member of the Committee on Designs for this monument, I confide to your hands the implements of operative masonry, that after the designs of this monument are laid down by some distinguished architect yet to be chosen, you may turn them over to him, in full confidence of his skill and ability to erect such a monument as will perpetuate and add new luster to the established glory, liberality, and patriotism of the people of our beloved Southland."

The Grand Master also said: "Most Worshipful Brother, our Grand Marshal, you will take with you Most Worshipful Brother R. E. Withers and inform Brother J. Taylor Ellyson, the President of the Jefferson Davis Monument Association, that the corner-stone of the monument about to be erected to commemorate the virtues of a soldier, statesman, and hero, who was worthy of his times and of the gratitude of a chivalrous people, has now been laid with Masonic honors, and request him to descend and examine our work, and if approved, to receive it from our hands."

Grand Marshal: Most Worshipful Grand Master, that duty has been performed.

Bishop J. C. Granberry then offered a deeply, impressive prayer.

THE ORATOR PRESENTED.

Hon J. Taylor Ellyson then advanced to the front of the platform, and said:

Comrades, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a very high honor for a private in the Army of Northern Virginia in being permitted, as President of the Jefferson Davis Mon

ument Association, to direct these exercises. We have met in this historic city to do honor to our beloved President. We lay to-day the corner-stone of the memorial to be erected to Jefferson Davis, who loved constitutional liberty dearer than life itself. We have chosen for our orator for this occasion one whose help and courage in time of war has only been surpassed by his devotion to the South in time of peace, and whose special fitness for the position as orator on this occasion is best attested by the distinguished services which he has given in the preservation of the history of the South. I take great pleasure, therefore, in presenting to you my comrade and your comrade, General Stephen D. Lee, of Mississippi.

ORATION OF GENERAL LEE.

General Lee was given a cordial reception, and was loudly cheered throughout the delivery of his beautiful oration. General Lee said:

We are here to-day to honor the memory of Jefferson Davis; to lay the corner-stone of a monument to one who needs no monument in our generation, beyond that in the hearts of his countrymen. But we think it due to erect one, that posterity may know the reverence felt for the great leader of a cause that failed.

It is fitting that he should rest here in Virginia—that greatest of all States, the battle-scarred producer of warriors and statesmen—fitting that he should rest here among her immortals. But for her generosity in ceding her vast territory to the Union, Kentucky would have still been hers, and he would have been born her son. Many presidents, statesmen, soldiers lie in Virginia soil—from Washington to the present time—none greater than Davis, but more fortunate.

A GLANCE BACKWARD.

Let us glance backward. Thirty-one years ago, on the soil of this very commonwealth, the man to whom we erect this monument lay manacled in a casement of a strongly-garrisoned fortress, charged with the most atrocious crimes known to man—treason and murder. He had been the unanimously-chosen leader of a true people, who, actuated by a pure and lofty patriotism, after exhausting every effort at compromise, made an attempt to establish a new nation; and after a bitter struggle of four years, after nearly four million soldiers had met in the shock of battle, and over 2,000 battlefields had blazed with glorious deeds, went down in darkness and blood.

Success is the measure of merit applied alike to every man, to every cause; and even in our moral judgments we sentence the un-

fortunate. Men do not idly erect monuments to lost causes. Fame has no trumpet for failure. The world hears not the voice of the vanquished. Yet history might teach us strange things of men who fail and causes that are lost. Genius did not keep Hannibal or Napoleon from defeat; heroism went with Joan of Arc to the stake, and Emmett to the scaffold. The eloquence of Demosthenes did not save Greece, or Cato's virtue Rome. The courage of Kosciusko availed naught for Poland, and Hungary went down for all the patriotism of Kossuth. Sometimes defeat gives a tragic pathos which lifts the commonplace into the immortal, and tenderly preserves the memory of the vanquished long after the victor has been forgotten.

Since the death of Napoleon there has been no career which illustrates so dramatically the vicissitudes of fortune as that of Jefferson Davis. Born amid the rugged surroundings of a frontier State, he lived to win the triple glory of the soldier, the orator, and the statesman. He became the ruler of 7,000,000 of people. His government was overwhelmed, his fortune swept away. He was bound as a criminal and prosecuted for his life. He became an exile. He was denied the rights of citizenship. He was defamed, denounced, insulted, ridiculed to the hour of his death. And yet he died by millions more sincerely mourned and deeply beloved than any other man in the history of the nation. If his enemies had succeeded in putting him to death he would have been the most conspicuous figure in American history.

SEE HIM AS HE IS.

When the mists of passion and prejudice have passed away the calm light of justice gives the right niche to each figure in history. The descendants of the men who burned Joan of Arc now regard her as a character of heroism and beauty. The posterity of the men who hanged witches in Salem as a pious duty now hear the story with horror. The descendants of the men who to-day look on Jefferson Davis with unkind expressions will see him as we do—the stainless gentleman, the gallant soldier, the devoted patriot, the pure and gifted statesman.

I do not propose to discuss now the unhappy causes leading to the war between the States. It is still too soon. Criminating and recriminating over irritating causes of differences cannot readjust what the war has settled. We must wait for the mists to clear away, and that will take another generation. It does no good to recall our wrongs, real or fancied; it keeps up partisan feeling; it gives an ex-

cuse for ill-will. Others have ably treated the Southern view of the controversy; their argument is submitted to impartial history. Suffice it to say, on this occasion, that the war has settled that secession is impracticable, and the amendments to the Constitution have adjusted all other differences. The Southern people have fully accepted the results—they accept the present, and loyally commit themselves to the future. Neither shall I attempt to recount his life, for it is a part of history. The record is made up. If we protect it from falsification while we live, the verdict of history will not shame our posterity when we are dead. To-day we meet, and the past and present join hands. Looking around me, viewing the faces of the fair women and brave men before me, I realize that the past is behind me—that this is the living present. I feel the influence of the new hopes of the new generation to which you belong. Our task is to commit into your hands what our failing hands cannot much longer hold—the sacred rights for which your fathers sacrificed their lives, their property, everything; these liberties and the land which was so dear to them we commit to you. I will only say you cannot excel your fathers. Reverence them, emulate them. May you be worthy of them!

It is hard to believe that the American people will always desire to have the epithets of traitor and rebel applied to names which are now, and unless human nature changes, always will be, dear and honored in the hearts of a large part of their number—honored by men who made duty a passion, a religion; dear to the posterity of those, who were the foremost in sacrifices in the establishment of the republic, in the increasing of its area, and in the vindication of principles of government inherited from their forefathers, and accepted as correct for the first fifty years of the republic.

NO STAIN ON THEIR LIVES.

I cannot hold him wise who would willingly wound the patriotism of any citizen of the republic. To brand such men as Albert Sydney Johnston, Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee, or Jefferson Davis as traitors, is not to stain the whiteness of their lives, but rather to spoil the word for any useful purpose, to make the traitor a title, which Hampton or Washington might have borne as well, had the fortunes of war gone against them. As Fox said to Lord North: "The great asserters of liberty, the saviors of their country, the benefactors of mankind, in all ages, have been called rebels." We

owe the constitution which enables us to sit in this house to a rebellion.

The future historian will note with astonishment that the Southern struggle for independence began, not with committees of public safety, with declarations of the rights of men, or enunciation of the mighty doctrine, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, but it began with public statutes, general elections, and constitutional conventions. Mr. Davis himself rested, in his inaugural, the case of the new nation at the bar of the public opinion of the world, not upon revolution, but upon legal right. He said: "The rights soelmnly proclaimed at the birth of the States, which have been affirmed and reaffirmed, in the bills of rights of States subsequently admitted into the Union of 1789, invariably recognise in the people, the power to resume the authority delegated for the purposes of government. Thus the sovereign States here represented, proceeded to form this Confederacy, and it is by abuse of language that their act has been denominated a revolution." He might also have said that the very Constitution of the United States was adopted by acts of secession, violating the Articles of Confederation.

ONLY EXERCISED A RIGHT.

The South learned its constitutional law from Jefferson, Madison and Calhoun; not from Hamilton and Marshall. They considered secession as a constitutional remedy in 1861. They believed a separate confederacy with their constitutional rights retained better than a union with these rights trampled upon and ignored or held together by physical force.

The junior senator from Massachusetts has written these words: "When this Constitution was adopted by the votes of the States at Philadelphia, and accepted by the votes of the States in popular conventions, it is fair to say that there was not a man in the country, from Washington and Hamilton on the one side, to George Clinton and George Mason on the other, who regarded the new system as anything but an experiment entered upon by the States, and from which each and every State had the right to peaceably withdraw, a right which was very likely to be exercised." The Southern States only exercised a right which had often been threatened by New England, and which was generally conceded to be a constitutional right. But in 1861 the Union had grown with the growth of the American people, and strengthened with its strength, until, like a young oak,

it had burst the old constitutional rocks asunder on sectional lines and issues. The South was fighting against the stars in their courses. But, standing on this sacred spot, I should be false to the memory of the dead if I did not remind you that he, the man we all adore, battled for the constitutional right to dissolve the Union, not for revolution, not for slavery—that the war was fought upon a legal, not a moral, issue, and it is significant that slavery is not mentioned, either in the Confederate inaugural or in Lincoln's Gettysburg address.

It is a pleasant reflection to-day that the feelings which human nature cannot repress in the sad hour of defeat have found the gentle and sure medicine of time. A new generation has risen underneath the healing wings of peace that are strangers to the discord of their fathers, and the gray-haired veterans of Gettysburg and Chickamauga, conscious of their rectitude of purpose and lofty patriotism, now yield loyal allegiance to the government, not having disowned their manhood, or with servility confessed that they were wrong. They have preserved their self-respect and won the respect of the nation.

For what, then, shall this monument stand? Jefferson Davis was truly through his life the representative of his people, and the monument represents the love of the Southern people for him. Such a sentiment honors them even more than it honors him. It demonstrates the faithfulness of the Southern people to their leader, for better or for worse. Rather than suspected is that people to be honored and trusted whose attachments defy the vicissitudes of time and fortune, and reach in loving fortitude beyond the grave.

REASORS FOR OUR LOVE.

Let us consider on this occasion the reasons for our love for Jefferson Davis, and why we honor him. First, above all, he is dear to us for the incomparable beauty of his character. It is a joy to the South that its typical figures of a generation ago, such as Davis, Lee, and Jackson, were men who wore the white flower of a blameless life—men of clean lips and spotless names. It will not surprise you when I add they were each of them of strong Christian faith. Permit me to quote the words of two distinguished men who knew Jefferson Davis most intimately in official as well as private life: "Standing here by his open grave, and in all probability not far from my own," said George Davis, of North Carolina, Attorney-General of the Confederacy, "I declare to you that he was the most honest, truest, gentlest, tenderest, manliest man I ever knew." "I knew Jefferson

Davis as I knew few men," said Benjamin Hill, Georgia's great senator. "I have been near him in his public duties; I have seen him by his private fireside; I have witnessed his humble devotions, and I challenge the judgment of history when I say no people were ever led through the fiery struggle for liberty by a nobler, truer patriot, while the carnage of war and the trials of public life never revealed a purer or more beautiful Christian character."

Jefferson Davis stood the test of true greatness, he was the greatest to those who knew him best. One of the marked traits of Mr. Davis' private life was his exquisite courtesy. He was one of the most approachable of men, as polite and affable to the humblest as to the most exalted. In his old age in Raleigh, N. C., he excused himself to all callers, in order to receive the visit of his former slave. It is characteristic of the man that he closed his farewell address to the Senate by apologizing for any pain which, in the heat of discussion, he might have inflicted. His last words on earth were, "Please excuse me." Such gentleness usually marks a man of courage. On a memorable occasion he uttered the characteristic maxim, "Never be haughty to the humble, nor humble to the haughty."

We remember how, at Buena Vista, although painfully wounded, he refused to quit his saddle until the victory, so largely due to his own heroism, was won; how, in the the battles around Richmond A. P. Hill, that gallant and spotless soldier, twice ordered General Lee and President Davis to the rear. Mr. Davis was utterly without fear for himself. Notwithstanding the attempt made on his life at Richmond, he never had an escort. But I must correct myself, for on one occasion an unknown Confederate boy-soldier followed the President alone from the lines around Richmond to the city, to watch over his safety, and to die, if need be, for his sake. This youth but gave expression to the heart of the South at that moment.

FIDELITY TO PRINCIPLE.

The dominant characteristic of Mr. Davis was his fidelity to principle. It was well said of him, "He bent to none but God." He came among us as a Roman born out of time. It was impossible for him to ask pardon, so long as he felt he had done his duty conscientiously as he saw it, and he was never forgiven. One after another his great comrades entered the Beyond until he stood alone, but he never wavered. He passed from us a stern and majestic figure, broken, but never bent. "In official life," said Senator Reagan, his Postmaster-General, "he knew no word but duty." A

young man and an ambitious soldier, he refused President Polk's offer of a brigadier-generalship, because he thought the appointment exceeded the president's constitutional power. He answered thus the solicitations of friends to send a force of men to protect his plantation and property in danger of seizure, "The President of the Confederacy cannot afford to use public means to protect private interests."

His aide, Governor Lubbock, of Texas, said of him: "From the day I took service with him to the very moment we separated, subsequent to our capture, I witnessed his unselfishness. He forgot himself, and displayed more self-abnegation than any other human being I have ever known." One of the strongest traits of his character was his aversion to receive gifts. He declined the beautiful home offered him by the people of this generous city. Over and over again he refused to receive gifts of money, even in his greatest extremities.

Mr. Davis' tenderness of heart was noticeable. On one occasion a commander of the United States forces in Missouri took nine Confederate prisoners and hung them in infamous disregard of the laws of war. The people clamored loudly for retaliation in kind, and it was proposed in the very cabinet that an equal number of prisoners of war, then in Libby Prison, should be taken out and hanged. "I have not the heart," replied the man, afterwards accused of cruelty to prisoners, "to take these innocent soldiers, taken in honorable warfare, and hang them like convicted criminals." His Attorney-General said of him: "I do not think I am a very cruel man, but I declare to you that it was the most difficult thing in the world to keep Mr. Davis up to the measure of justice. He wanted to pardon everybody. If ever a wife or a mother or a sister got into his presence it took but a little while for their tears to wash out the record."

MERCIFUL AND TENDER.

It is not necessary at this day, I take it, to defend Mr. Davis from the charge of cruelty to prisoners, any more than from the picturesque calumny of stealing Confederate gold, or even that slowly expiring libel that to escape capture he disguised himself as a woman. The man who could not bear to punish the guilty, never tortured the innocent; the man who refused private gifts never soiled his hands with public money; and the President of the Confederacy was never ridiculous. The mortality among Confederate prisoners of war in the North was over three per cent. greater than that of Union prisoners in the South. "The mortuary tables thus exhibiting a large

per cent. in favor of Confederate humanity." Those who will read the sad history of the prisoners of war, not on one side, but on both, and examine the ceaseless, almost humiliating efforts of the Confederate Government to exchange prisoners, or secure alleviations of their condition, and read General Grant's frank admission of the reason for not exchanging, will have no unkind words left for Mr. Davis. He was fortunate in having the charge raised against him at the time when his enemies could put him on trial for it. No human character was ever subjected to more searching investigations than was his life at the time of his imprisonment. The fierce light that beat upon the life of Jefferson Davis revealed no blot or blemish, but instead displayed the image of its white purity upon the screen of the ages.

We love and honor Mr. Davis for his eminent public services. He came from a stock distinguished for its patriotism. His father and uncles fought through the Revolutionary war. Three of his brothers were in the war of 1812. As a cadet at West Point, he entered the service of his country, and for twelve years he bore its arms. He rendered conspicuous service in the Black Hawk war against the Indians. In the Mexican war his gallantry at the storming of Monterey was most conspicuous, while at Buena Vista, the most brilliant victory ever won by United States troops on foreign soil, he is generally believed to have saved the day.

TRULY REPRESENTED US.

We love and respect him, for he truly represented us in his political life. He became a member of Congress in 1845, resigning the next year to serve in Mexico. Upon his return from the war he became United States Senator. He was eight years a member of the Senate, during the most brilliant epoch of its history, where he sustained himself as an equal in debate with the most illustrious statesmen in American history. He held his own with Chase and Douglas, Benton and Clay, Webster and Calhoun.

As Secretary of War he never had his superior. During his administration the routes of the Pacific railroad were surveyed, the Capitol was extended, iron gun-carriages were introduced, the system of casting heavy guns changed, and the use of coarser grains of powder for artillery was begun. The army was enlarged by four regiments. The dictates of politics were disregarded in his official appointments.

Mr. Davis was opposed to disunion, and did his utmost to pre-

vent the step. At the conference called by Governor Pettus, of Mississippi, of the representatives in Congress from that State, in 1860, Mr. Davis declared himself opposed to secession as long as the hope of a peaceful remedy remained. He said he did not believe we ought to precipitate the issue, as he felt certain that from his knowledge of the people of the North and South, that if there was a clash of arms, the contest would be the most sanguinary the world ever witnessed. As a member of the Senate committee to whom the compromise proposals were submitted at the outbreak of secession, he expressed his willingness to accept any plan of settlement that promised a reasonable hope of success. But the Republican members of that committee rejected every proposition made.

On December 10, 1860, Mr. Davis spoke these words in the Senate: "This Union is as dear to me as a Union of fraternal States. It would lose its value if I had to regard it as a Union held together by physical force. I would be happy to know that every State felt the fraternity which made this Union possible, and if that evidence could go out—if evidence satisfactory to the people of the South could be given that that feeling existed in the hearts of the northern people—you might burn your statute books and we would cling to the Union still." To the very hour that Mississippi seceded, and after it, he was pleading for union without dishonor. When Mississippi seceded he resigned his seat in the Senate and went to his State and cast his lot with his people. Many another officer of the United States bent before the allegiance he acknowledged to his mother State and followed him with bleeding hearts. In spite of his well-known preference for service in the field, the Confederate Government called him to its head. Mr. Davis shared with Washington the extraordinary distinction of being elected President of a republic unanimously, but Mr. Davis was chosen by a more numerous people and at a period of more critical responsibility.

HE SUFFERED FOR US.

We love and honor Mr. Davis, most of all, because he suffered with us and for us, and was our President; because, in the language of the eloquent Peyton Wise, of Virginia, "he was the type of that ineffable manhood which made the armies of the South." Time would fail me to picture the iron will, the persistency and loyalty of Mr. Davis during those four terrible years—of the travail of his soul; his people pitted against a people outnumbering them four to one in arms, bearing population, and incomparably better prepared for war,

having an organized government, an organized army and navy, with arsenals, dock yards and machine shops, and having free intercourse with the world, from which to get supplies and men, while every port was sealed against help from the outside world to the Confederacy, which had to organize its government and improvise everything for the unequal struggle from an agricultural population.

With an army of 600,000 men and no navy, except a few river steamers and privateers, opposed by an army outnumbering it by 2,000,000 of soldiers, by a navy of 700 vessels of war, manned by 105,000 men; with a fleet of transports, steamers, barges, and coal floats almost innumerable, which in 1862, on the Mississippi river and its tributaries alone, numbered over 2,200 vessels. (It is not known what was the number of vessels chartered on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts in moving the large armies.) The navy in its help was as decisive in results as the great armies in the field in blockading ports, in cutting up the Confederacy by her rivers, in establishing many depots and points of departure from the rivers and along the coast for armies to invade and overrun new territory, and in transporting armies around territory they could not cross, and in saving armies when defeated, as it Shiloh, on the Tennessee, and on the James river, near Richmond.

When we look back now at the mighty contest, we wonder how we ever held out so long—how we could have succeeded in driving the American merchantmen from the seas, and how we won so many signal victories, as many almost as were won by our enemies.

The record of Southern valor and manhood, where a people fought so long against such odds and resources, displayed such fortitude, and endured such sacrifices, will be a bright page in American history; and will show what the Anglo-Saxon race can and will do under a republican form of government in defence of a constitutional principle.

As President Mr. Davis may have made mistakes. He was a constitutional ruler, not a revolutionary chief. He could not work miracles. He summoned to his council the genius of a Benjamin, the profundity of Hunter, the intellect of Toombs. He placed at the head of his troops Lee, Jackson, Albert Sidney Johnston, Beauregard, Joseph E. Johnston, and other leaders, not surpassed in any army since the marshals of the Empire. And when the night of defeat was darkening, and the dismantled ship of the Confederacy was sinking beneath the waters, he stood at the helm to the last. There is something indescribably pathetic in the sight, when a brave

and gallant people stake everything upon the cast of battle, fight their armies to exhaustion, and almost to annihilation, in defending their homes and firesides against invading enemies, and at last are overpowered and overwhelmed, and behold everything that they love go down. The people of the South were a proud and sensitive race, and the world will never know the agonies they suffered in those desperate days. But none had so much to bear, and bore it so bravely, as their indomitable leader. He carried on his great heart the sufferings of his people; he shared their sorrow, and partook of their grief.

LOST ALL SAVE HONOR.

I behold before me here to-day the white heads of Confederate veterans, of the men who thirty-one years ago lost all save honor. They are falling now swifter than ever their comrades fell on the field of battle; they have lived, thank God, to restore their country to freedom and prosperity again—dear land! for which they fought and sacrificed and suffered and lost! They who are about to die salute you.

There are those who confidently expect the time to come when Confederate graves will no longer be decorated with flowers; when monuments will cease to commemorate the splendid heroism, or the devoted sacrifices of those who fell for their State. For one, I believe that the time will never come when the South will cease to love the Confederate soldier. He would have been dear to her if he had returned home amid the booming of cannon and the plaudits of victory. Mothers would have lifted their children in their arms to behold the hero's face. Church bells would have rung a nation's joy, and a grateful people would have showered honors upon his head.

God did not will it so.

The soldier came ragged, bleeding, penniless to his desolate home, with sad heart but dauntless courage, to restore the land he loved. He gave all for his country, and she, unhappy mother, had nothing left to give him but her love. Dearer, a thousand times dearer, to the South are her ragged heroes of 1865 than all her victorious sons of other years.

She will never believe that the men who drew sword in defence of her hearth-stones in 1861 are worthy of reproach. Shame upon the Southern people if they shall ever defile the one page of their history which is glorious beyond compare by writing over the records of

immortal heroism, of love that counted not the cost, and patriotism that was faithful unto death, such words as these: "They were all wrong; it was all a mistake." Rather let their story be blotted out altogether, for their children will no longer be worthy to read or emulate their achievements. Until that hour every nameless grave, every tattered flag, every worn jacket of gray shall find hearts to love and hands to cherish them.

The people of the South would not exchange the story of the Confederacy for the wealth of the world. At their mothers' knees the coming generations shall learn from that story, what deeds make men great and nations glorious.

The people who do not cherish their past will never have a future worth recording. The time is even now, that the whole people of the United States are proud of the unsurpassed heroism, sacrifice, and faithfulness of the soldiers and people of the Confederacy.

* * * * "The terrible past
Must be ours while life shall last.
Ours, with its memories; ours, with its pain;
Ours, with its best blood shed like rain;
The sacrifices all made in vain.
Forget? Never!"

IN PRISON AT FORT MONROE.

Singularly enough, however, it was after the war was over that the events occurred which endeared Mr. Davis most to the Southern people. I allude, first of all, to his long imprisonment at Fortress Monroe; the clumsy cruelty of putting the distinguished captive in irons, thrilled the South like an electric shock. It would be painful now, and humiliating, I venture to say, to Americans everywhere, to dwell upon the unhappy details of his confinement. Suffice it to say, that the result of it all was the very last thing that his jailers would have intended—to make Jefferson Davis the most beloved man of his time. The men of the South recognized that he was suffering for an offence which they equally shared with him, and suffering in no figurative sense, in their place. One of the most exquisite scenes in the life of this remarkable man, occurred when he was a prisoner in the fort, when Dr. Minnigerode partook with him of the holy communion in the stillness of the night. The motionless figure of the Federal commander of the fortress, and the sentinels standing guard over him, regarding the strange spectacle, and wondering perhaps, how their illustrious captive could have forgiven all the world.

Even after the charge of treason had broken down, and he was once more a free man, Mr. Davis continued to be, until the hour of his death, a shining mark for the political enemies of the South. So well understood was the love of the people for him that it became, as it appeared to us, a political device, which never failed of its purpose to attack him, in order to arouse expressions of resentment from the South. Ben. Hill and Lamar were especially dear to our hearts, because they defended Mr. Davis.

There is something in his unbending nature, free from all the petty diplomacies which make for popularity, that made him a favorite subject for ridicule and defamation. He was a man understood only by his peers. Pliant, politic, narrow, partisan souls could never rise above the clouds of his adversity to behold the eternal sunshine settled on his head. It was impossible to answer the assailants in kind. Every shaft aimed at Mr. Davis in Congress, at the hustings, or through the press, drew the hearts of the Southern people closer to him. They are a loyal and faithful folk. Their disfranchised leader became their Prometheus, chained to the rock, with the vultures gnawing at his vitals.

It is not the least thing for which they love him that his last years were devoted to the vindication of their cause and the deathless story of their achievements. It is sweet to them to think of him at Beauvoir, aged and bent, invalid, and almost blind, pouring out his last energies in defence of their honor. The seductions of power never reached him. He died in the political faith in which he lived, unchanged to the end, standing like a mast where the ship went down. Brave, unconquerable old man!

ENSHRINED IN OUR AFFECTIONS.

I question whether any other man ever received the popular demonstrations of affection which attended Mr. Davis. No sovereign in the height of his power ever witnessed the overwhelming manifestations of devotion and reverence which the presence of this aged and powerless man evoked. When he was released from trial, thousands of the citizens of Richmond stood with bare heads in silence as he passed. It was at Atlanta, at the unveiling of the Hill monument, that Henry Grady proclaimed him "the uncrowned king of all our hearts," amid an outburst of enthusiasm, which must have repaid him for years of suffering. It is said that seven cities claim the birth of Homer, dead; but seven States contested for the honor to be the burial-place of Jefferson Davis. On the day of his funeral

services were held for him all over the South. Grady said: "Government will not render to him the pomp and circumstance of a great death; but his people will give him a tribute of love and tears, surpassing all that government could do, and honoring his memory as earthly parade could not do." And so it was. America never saw before so wonderful a pageant as that which passed down the streets of New Orleans. The funeral of that generous soldier, General Grant, I am told, cost more than $100,000. The even more impressive funeral of Mr. Davis cost nothing; all bills came in receipted. It was the spontaneous outpouring of a people's love. The people of the South may not be rich in material things, but they are not poor in their hearts.

It was my duty and privilege to be present at his funeral, and also to accompany his remains on the way to Richmond, and I shall never forget it. No conqueror's march was ever half so triumphant. In the capitals through which it passed his body lay in state, visited by thousands, and everywhere along the way the people, old and young, thronged, and stood with uncovered heads day and night along the railroad as the train rolled by to testify their devotion to the dead. It was spontaneous; it was sincere; it was universal.

We are gathered here to-day to erect a monument to him. It is for our sakes; not for his. His memory belongs to the ages. His life will stand like a snowy peak amid the centuries. His remembrance will abide in the hearts of men when this stone has crumbled into dust. Jefferson Davis' life teaches us that character is secure. Character was his bulwark against all the slander, ridicule, insult, which the wit of man could devise, and that defence stands sure. He teaches us that love follows sacrifice. He who bore everything for his people received a reward such as an emperor might have envied—their unfeigned and abiding love. He teaches us that life offers something better than success. It is when moral worth is defeated that humanity becomes sublime.

As a soldier, his brilliant and promising career was cut short. He had no opportunities to develop the great qualities of Lee, the prince of commanders. As a statesman, he did not quite reach, perhaps, the commanding stature of Calhoun, to whose work he succeeded. As an orator, he may have lacked the impetuous fervor of Yancey, the splendid declamation of Lamar. He surpassed them all in his majestic strength, the chaste beauty of his thoughts, and his thrilling earnestness. But Davis was greater than them all, in that he combined them all. He was an accomplished soldier, a great statesman, and

a consummate orator. He was the typical Southerner of his day and of all times.

STANDS ABOVE THEM ALL.

Around him stood that marvellous group—Lee, the flower of chivalry; Jackson, the genius of war; Toombs, the thunderer of debate; Benjamin, the jurist; Campbell, the judge; Bledsoe, the scholar; Hunter, the statesman—men fit to measure with the knightliest. Yet, from the vantage ground of history, his sublime head lifts itself above them all.

It is meet and fitting that the ashes of the great souls rest in Virginia's soil. Round him sleep the mighty ones who have gone before—soldiers who won American liberty, jurists who gave it perpetual form, statesmen who filled its flag with stars and made it honorable throughout the world. Let Richmond be added to Mount Vernon, Monticello and Lexington. The South has committed the keeping of his ashes to the mother of States and statesmen. Let him sleep in Virginia, where every river whispers of Confederate heroism and every hill was crimsoned with the soldiers' blood. Let him rest in Richmond, his capital, the city which he walled about with the breasts of the bravest of the brave. His memory is safe with you. You were faithful to the living; you will not forget the dead.

In calmer years, when the last ember of sectional feeling has burned out, and the last chord of love has gently bound the hearts of all Americans together, fathers will bring their little children to this spot and tell the story of a pure, great man, who suffered for his people, and for the right, as they understood it; and how for this they loved him as they loved no other. Long as yonder noble river shall roll its tide to the sea it shall behold no man more kingly. "He was a very perfect, gentle knight." May the story of his life be sweet in days to come, and at last all men come to understand Jefferson Davis.

THE BENEDICTION.

At the conclusion of General Lee's oration the benediction was pronounced by Bishop Granberry, and the crowd dispersed.

Many of the old soldiers came up to the platform and shook hands with Mrs. Davis and her daughter, Mrs. Hayes. General Gordon, speaking for Mrs. Davis, said: "Comrades, Mrs. Davis says she only wishes that you all had one mouth so she could kiss it."

Captain Frank Cunningham directed the musical part of the programme, and this was one of its most attractive features.

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